

Faculty of Theology
University of Helsinki

PAUL'S USE OF PSALMS

QUOTATIONS, ALLUSIONS, AND PSALM CLUSTERS IN ROMANS AND FIRST CORINTHIANS

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This study examines how Paul uses psalms and how this is related to the uses and status of the psalms in the late Second Temple Judaism. The study focuses on clusters of explicit and subtle references to psalms in Paul's Letter to the Romans and his First Letter to the Corinthians. Furthermore, the study covers the psalm quotations paired together or with another scriptural text and a selection of four individually occurring quotations from a psalm.

The following questions are answered in this study: What was the status of psalms within Jewish scriptures for Paul? What does their use as different clusters tell us of the source of Paul's citations and exegesis of the psalms? How do the individually occurring quotations from psalms differ from quotation clusters or pairs of quotations? What kind of scriptural texts does Paul combine when quoting from or referring to the psalms, and which interpretive technique enables him to do so? The study is divided into two main parts—Part I: Psalms in the Late Second Temple Period; and Part II: Paul's Use of Psalms.

Based on previous research, I conclude that the composition of what later came to represent the book of psalms (150 Psalms MT Psalter or 151 Psalms LXX Psalter) was not the only available compilation during Paul's writing activity in the late Second Temple period. Hence, it is plausible that Paul also had access to different types of collections of psalms. Moreover, Paul probably made excerpts from scripture when he had access to the written form of scripture; these excerpts may have aided him when he composed his letters. However, in this study I demonstrate that Paul did not rely on earlier formatted clusters of quotations, as has been claimed in previous studies. Rather, he compiled and modified the quotations to fit into their new literary context.

Since previous research has often presumed that Paul studied the text of the psalms in a synagogue setting by reciting them, their possible attestation in such gatherings is discussed in chapter 3. Although the knowledge of liturgy of the late Second Temple period is sparse, prayer is largely attested in written documents (literary depictions, papyri, inscriptions, DSS manuscripts), and hence it can be concluded that it played a central role both in private and public piety. Furthermore, psalms were employed in various functions in the late Second Temple period: in addition to their use in private and communal devotional life, psalms were read, cited and interpreted as carrying a prophetic message for the contemporary reader. Moreover, psalms were used to study the history of the interpretive community. This study shows that Paul's use of psalms reflects these varying uses of psalms during the late Second Temple period.

In the first analysis chapter (ch. 4), I show by which exegetical technique Paul compiles the cluster of quotations occurring in Romans 3:10–18 as a catena. Here Paul

aims to show his audience that all humankind is under sin and in need of God's forgiveness. As for the metaleptical aspect—how the original literary context of the psalms is echoed in this catena—Paul deliberately leaves out the original literary context of the psalms, as most of the quoted verses are actually laments of the wicked “enemy” oppressing the psalmist. Hence, Paul creates an in-group identity among his recipients through using the lamentation language of these psalms, shifting from the horizontal distinction between the psalmist and the “enemy” to the vertical distinction between the lamenter and God.

The passage in Rom 3:4 represents a different type of metaleptical aspect than the passage in Rom 3:10–18, since the literary context of the quoted text appears to play a role in Paul's argumentation. Quoting both lamentation and penitential psalms (Pss 115[116]; 50[51]), Paul tries to prove that the gospel does not contradict God's faithfulness to Jews. In addition, by using the example of Ps 50(51) to recount David's sins (adultery and murder), Paul invites his audience to reflect on David's great sins which were not, after all, recorded as sin since David repented. The second section of ch. 5 exemplifies how two paired quotations from Pss 8 and 109(110) in 1 Cor 15:25 and 27 function as prophecy when Paul argues for bodily resurrection by using Christ's resurrection as an antecedent of the future resurrection of his followers. The royal emphasis of Ps 109(110) suited Paul well as he used the psalm to depict Christ as a Davidic ruler. Ps 8 carries themes of creation, which enables Paul to illustrate, by means of the Adam–Christ typology, how Christ will reign in the coming era over all creation, similarly as human kind was set to cherish all in the creation, but lost this position in the fall. The third section of this chapter demonstrates how Paul combines psalm text with the Pentateuch, as he quotes from Ps 31(32):1 in Rom 4:8 after quoting from Gen 15:6 in verse 3. In this passage, Paul clarifies the scriptural basis for the inclusion of gentiles into the covenant without circumcision. Lastly, a quotation pair in 1 Cor 3:19–20 serves as an example of how Paul combines quotations from the psalms and Wisdom literature, as he quotes from Job 5:13 and Ps 93(94):11, modifying the wording of the psalm quotation by conflating the word “the wise one” occurring in the quoted verse from Job.

Regarding the individually occurring quotations from psalms, this study shows that, in a similar manner as the Pentateuch or the prophetic texts, Paul does likewise use psalms on their own to foster or to prove his argument (Rom 8:36; 15:3; 1 Cor 10:26; 2 Cor 4:11). Hence, Paul considers the psalms as enjoying authoritative status, and his use of them also strengthens their authority among the community reading Paul's letters.

The last two analysis chapters (ch. 6–7), which assess the subtle references to the psalms occurring in dense clusters in Romans 1:17–24 and 1 Corinthians 10:1–10, demonstrate that Paul also uses psalms to instruct the congregation by utilizing their vocabulary and themes. In 1 Corinthians, Paul uses Pss 77(78), 104(105) and 105(106) to instruct his recipients about the right way of living by actualizing the content of the wilderness narrative. Romans 1:16–24 comprises a passage where Paul illustrates the sinfulness of humankind by subtly referring to several psalms. The use of subtle references may indicate that the psalms were an integral part of Paul's everyday phrasing, and thus their wording became a part of his own argumentation. Concerning

the subtle references, this study classifies each allusion according to their degree of allusive link as follows: 1) lexical and thematic correspondence (with or without so-called metaleptical evocations), 2) lexical correspondence only, 3) thematic correspondence between the texts with loose or without lexical correspondence, and 4) only loose thematic correspondence. Romans 1 carries more variation between these four categories of subtle references compared to 1 Corinthians 10.

In conclusion, this study confirms the earlier notion that the tripartite division of the Hebrew Bible was not yet established at the turn of the Common Era. Since it is uncertain when the psalms gained authoritative status in Jewish communities, Paul's use of the psalms sheds light on the matter: Paul seems to hold the psalms as authoritative by quoting from them in a similar manner as he does from the Pentateuchal and prophetic texts. Paul uses the psalms for legal exegesis and instruction for the right way to live, functions that were reserved only for the interpretation of the Torah in later rabbinic Judaism. However, this tradition obviously developed after Paul, since he uses non-Pentateuchal texts as sources for legal exegesis as well.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AB | Anchor Bible |
| ABD | <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992. |
| AGJU | Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums |
| AnBib | Analecta Biblica |
| ANEM | Ancient Near East Monographs/Monografias sobre el Antiguo Cercano Oriente |
| ANRW | <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> |
| ANTF | Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung |
| <i>Athenaeum</i> | <i>Athenaeum: Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità</i> |
| BDF | Blass, F., A. Debrunner and Robert W. Funk. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961. |
| BETL | Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium |
| BFCT | Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie |
| BHT | Beiträge zur historischen Theologie |
| <i>BibInt</i> | <i>Biblical Interpretation</i> |
| BibInt | Biblical Interpretation Series |
| BJS | Brown Judaic Studies |
| BJSUCSD | Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego |
| BKAT | Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament |
| BN | <i>Biblische Notizen</i> |
| BNTC | Black's New Testament Commentaries |
| BZAW | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft |
| BZNW | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft |
| CBET | Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology |
| CBQ | <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> |
| CBQMS | Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series |
| ConBOT | Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series |
| CTJ | <i>Calvin Theological Journal</i> |
| CurBR | <i>Currents in Biblical Research</i> (formerly <i>Currents in Research: Biblical Studies</i>) |
| CV | <i>Communio Viatorum</i> |
| DJD | Discoveries in the Judaean Desert |

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| ECL | Early Christianity and Its Literature |
| EJL | Early Judaism and Its Literature |
| EKKNT | Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament |
| <i>ExpTim</i> | <i>Expository Times</i> |
| FAT | Forschungen zum Alten Testament |
| FRLANT | Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments |
| HAT | Handbuch zum Alten Testament |
| HBS | History of Biblical Studies |
| <i>HistTh</i> | <i>History and Theory</i> |
| HKAT | Handkommentar zum Alten Testament |
| HThKAT | Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament |
| HUT | Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie |
| ICC | International Critical Commentary |
| ISBL | Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature |
| <i>JBL</i> | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> |
| <i>JRE</i> | <i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i> |
| <i>JSNT</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i> |
| JSNTSup | Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series |
| <i>JSOT</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i> |
| JSOTSup | Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series |
| <i>JSP</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i> |
| <i>JTS</i> | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> |
| KEK | Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar) |
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| LHBOTS | The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies |
| LNTS | The Library of New Testament Studies |
| MSU | Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens |
| <i>NA</i> ²⁷ | <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Based on the work of Eberhard and Erwin Nestle. Edited by Barbara and Kurt Aland et al. 27 th edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006. |
| <i>NA</i> ²⁸ | <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Based on the work of Eberhard and Erwin Nestle. Edited by Barbara and Kurt Aland et al. 28 th edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012. |
| NETS | <i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> |
| <i>NIB</i> | <i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by Leander E. Keck. 12 vols. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1994–2004. |
| NICNT | New International Commentary on the New Testament |
| NIGTC | New International Greek Testament Commentary |

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|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>NovT</i> | <i>Novum Testamentum</i> |
| NovTSup | Supplements to Novum Testamentum |
| NRSV | <i>New Revised Standard Version</i> |
| NTAbh | Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen |
| <i>NTS</i> | <i>New Testament Studies</i> |
| OLA | Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta |
| <i>OTE</i> | <i>Old Testament Essays</i> |
| PFES | Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society |
| SBL | Society of Biblical Literature |
| SBLDS | Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series |
| SBLMS | Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series |
| SBL SBS | Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Literature |
| SBLSPS | Symposium Series |
| SBLStBL | Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature |
| SCS | Septuagint and Cognate Studies |
| <i>Semeia</i> | <i>Semeia</i> |
| SemeiaSt | Semeia Studies |
| SJ | Studia Judaica |
| <i>SJOT</i> | <i>Scandinavian Journal of Old Testament</i> |
| SNTSMS | Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series |
| SPhiloA | Studia Philonica Annual |
| SSEJC | Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity |
| StBibLit | Studies in Biblical Literature (Lang) |
| STDJ | Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah |
| StPB | Studia Post-biblica |
| Str-B | Strack, Hermann Leberecht and Paul Billerbeck. <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> . 6 vols. Munich: Beck, 1922–1961– |
| <i>TDNT</i> | <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976. |
| <i>TLG</i> | <i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works</i> . Edited by Luci Berkowitz and Karl A. Squitier. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1990. Electronic on-line version. |
| <i>TLZ</i> | <i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i> |
| TSAJ | Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum |
| <i>TynBul</i> | <i>Tyndale Bulletin</i> |
| <i>VT</i> | <i>Vetus Testamentum</i> |
| WBC | Word Biblical Commentary |
| <i>WTJ</i> | <i>Westminster Theological Journal</i> |

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|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| WUNT | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament |
| WUNT 2 | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. 2. Reihe |
| <i>WW</i> | <i>Word and World</i> |
| <i>ZAW</i> | <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> |
| <i>ZEE</i> | <i>Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik</i> |

1. Introduction

“[...] as there is no such thing as an innocent reading, we must say what reading we are guilty of.” (Althusser, *Reading Capital*, 1979, 14)

In his *Reading Capital*, Louis Althusser explicates that he does not read Karl Marx’s *Das Kapital* (*Capital*) from the point of view of a historian, an economist or a philologist, but from that of a philosopher. Althusser continues: “[...] a philosophical reading of *Capital* [...] takes the responsibility for its crime as a ‘justified crime’ and defends it by proving its necessity. It is therefore a special reading which exculpates itself as a reading by posing every guilty reading the question that unmask its innocence, the mere question of its innocence: *what it is to read?*”¹ In this chapter, I seek to unmask which reading of Paul I am guilty of myself.

Ethics is integral to reading and interpretation, especially for texts that occupy a position of authority and that are used as a basis of argumentation—for instance, through quotation and paraphrase.² Paul’s letters have been subsequently used for this aim, but before attaining—or in order to attain—this position of authority, Paul himself appealed to prestigious texts to foster his argumentation.³ No text can attain

¹ Althusser 1979, 15. Emphasis original.

² Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1971, 177) note that “[a]llusion increases the prestige of the speaker in possession of this treasure, and able to utilize it.” They (177) also list maxims and proverbs among the figures that increase the prestige of the speaker and “the communion with the audience [...] [which is] achieved through references to a common culture, tradition or past.” On the other hand, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1977) consider that quotation “[...] can be regarded as a figure relating to communion only when it is not fulfilling its normal role of backing up a statement with the weight of authority.”

³ When Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1971, 305–310) deal with the subject of an argument from authority, they note that texts enjoying a position of prestige among a certain community may be considered as granting authority (307). As an example of this they cite Calvin, who “rejects the authority of the Church, but admits that of the prophets.” Further, they formulate that “[...] the argument from authority will not constitute the only proof, but will round off well-developed argumentation.” In many cases, this appears to be the function of quotations—argument from authority—when Paul finalizes his treatises of certain topics.

its prestige without human agents that read and interpret the text. Therefore, one aspect of my study is to untangle how Paul uses the scriptures to bolster his argument, and what does this use of scripture tell us about the given text.

This chapter tackles issues concerning the methodology of reading and interpreting, with particular reference to the ancient texts that later became Jewish and Christian scripture, as well as theories of reading in literary studies during recent decades. In section 1.2, I discuss previous research on scriptural quotations in the New Testament, concentrating particularly on Paul. Section 1.3 is divided into two parts—1.3.1 deals with explicit quotations and 1.3.2 with subtle links between texts, the latter of which demands a longer methodological discussion along with a consideration of critical theory. Also, based on the vocabulary of previous research, I further define the terminology that I use in this study to describe subtle links. The last section (1.5) presents the outline of the study.

1.1. Research Questions

In literary criticism, literature has, according to some Russian Formalists, been differentiated from “non-literature.”⁴ In other words, “one cannot even begin to understand literature unless one first understands it *as* literature.”⁵

However, that which makes one text to be understood as literature while another as non-literature is not straightforward for Formalists. As for one aspect, Viktor Shklovsky uses a distinction between poetic language and everyday speech: poetic language comprises elements that defamiliarize the reader in order to make him or her aware of reading.⁶ This effect may be gained by linking the literary artefact to a preceding tradition. The Anglo-American parallel to the Russian Formalist approach

⁴ See, e.g., the discussion of Russian formalists on the “literariness” of text in contradistinction to the utterances of everyday speech; see esp. Jakobson (1921) 2001, 56.

⁵ Morson (2012, 6), on the task of Russian Formalists. Emphasis his.

⁶ Shklovsky (1917) 2001, 35. See further analysis of these concepts in Thompson (1971, 27): “Defamiliarization is a method of presentation of things and ideas; using it, we arrange the artistic elements in such a way as to make them represent these things or ideas to us with strange clarity. [...] Defamiliarization relates to the effort to arrange artistic elements in an intricate and difficult way, so that we have to attend to them more than if we met them in everyday life.”

to text was the New Criticism. The emphasis that the author of a text does not dictate its meaning was common to both these approaches. What was at stake in modernist literary criticism, both in Russian Formalism and the New Criticism, was the ontological criteria defining certain texts as literature—i.e., what qualifies a text as literature and, in the first place, why does it deserve to be read?⁷ T. S. Eliot, one of those attributed to the latter approach,⁸ has stated that “[t]radition is a matter of much wider significance [than mere repetition]. It cannot be inherited, and if you want it you must obtain it by great labour. [...] No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists.”⁹

Paul’s letters hold a unique background with regard to these aspects of “literariness:” Paul appears to bind his text to earlier tradition—to Jewish scripture—and therefore his letters stand out as something other than mere everyday speech. On the other hand, Paul’s texts comprise a corpus originally written by a historical figure named Paul to a real audience, and only later did they come to represent a major part of the Christian canon. Regarding the material aspect of the ancient production of literature, one distinctive feature between literary and documentary texts is that literary texts were copied to be preserved for future readers whereas documentary texts have been preserved only by chance as extant originals in the papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions, which is fortunate for papyrological and epigraphic research. Letters have been preserved both as literary and documentary texts—literary texts mainly through a copying process (in addition to some papyri, epigraphic and inscription discoveries) and documentary texts due to the arid climate of Egypt where the major part of documentary papyri have been found.¹⁰ In one sense, Paul’s letters were “ad hoc

⁷ For a comparison of these two approaches to literature, see Thompson 1971. See, e.g., Ananda K. Coomaraswamy’s distinction between two types of inquiries of a work of art, asking 1) whether the author has achieved his intentions, and 2) whether it is worth preserving. Cited in Wimsatt and Beardsley (1954) 1967, 5–6.

⁸ Noteworthy, however, is that the term “New Criticism” was coined much later, namely in 1941 by John Crowe Ransom in his study *The New Criticism*.

⁹ Eliot (1919) 1964, 49.

¹⁰ The earliest authentic Greek letters preserved in their original form comprise the non-literary letters of the Ptolemaic administration correspondence dated to the third century BCE and recovered from Egypt (White 1986, 189), as well as a private letter (*SIG*³ III 1259) dated to the fourth century BCE (Klauck 2006, 19; cf. Koskeniemi 1956, 9). In addition, there are later literary letters by Cicero, Seneca,

documents intended for specific readers in specific situations rather than literary works intended for publication.”¹¹ On the other hand, Paul’s letters resemble treatises more closely than short notes.¹² Moreover, no other such lengthy letters from the same period have been preserved.¹³ Hence, it is noteworthy that the ad hoc nature of Paul’s letters is contested in scholarship, since they appear to be more stylistically

Horace and Pliny that are preserved through copying transmission (White 1986, 189). Koskenniemi (1956, 12–13) notes that the earlier literary letters can be categorized into three groups comprising letters from individual persons, statesmen, as well as philosophers and writers, of which the latter are mostly unauthentic.

¹¹ Harvey 1998, 16. Theissen (2012, 62) describes Paul’s letters as “expanded private letters” in which one can see a “development from occasional writing directed to particular situations (1 Thessalonians) to the beginnings of early Christian publications (Romans).” Furthermore, Theissen (69–70) considers that—compared to ancient letter forms that are divided into three groups: private utility letters on the one hand, as well as public diplomatic and literary letters on the other hand—Paul’s letters carry elements of a private letter of friendship as well as a public community letter.

¹² It is noteworthy that the instructions for the content and form of a letter during Paul’s writing activity, suggest to avoid philosophical treatises in a letter. This is attested in the earliest preserved ancient letter writing guide, *On Style* (Περὶ ἐρμηνείας, *De Elocutione*) which is often—mistakenly—attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum (see, *On Style*, 228, 231, 234). The dating of the text is uncertain, ranging between the third century BCE and the first century CE. This guide provides information on the theory of how the content and context of the letter affected its form and style. (Malherbe 1988, 4; Klauck 2006, 184). Another early guide of letter writing, *Epistolary Types* (τύποι ἐπιστολικοί, *Formae epistolicae*)—of which the final form is dated to the first century CE, but which might contain older parts dating even to the second century BCE—is likewise attributed to a person called Demetrius, and for the sake of clarity he is usually differentiated from the above mentioned Demetrius as “Pseudo-Demetrius.” (Malherbe 1988, 30; Klauck 2006, 194–195). In addition to these guides, there are more letter writing guides or texts describing letter form, such as Cicero’s and Seneca’s treatises as well as those by Philostratus of Lemnos, Gregory of Nazianzus and Julius Victor, all written in the Roman and Byzantine periods. For a more detailed survey of ancient letter writing, see White 1986, 189–193; Malherbe 1988, 2–6; Klauck 2006, 183–227. For the description of private and official letters, as well as literary and nonliterary letters, see White 1986, 193–220. Nonliterary letters comprise a varying degree from private to official letters. Letter form was used for many of the official documents, such as petitions, complaints, contracts of sale or marriage, and tax declarations, to name a few. Likewise, diplomatic correspondence is classified as a nonliterary genre (Klauck 2006, 67–68).

¹³ Cf. Klauck (2006), who notes (301) that though, for instance, Paul’s letter to the Romans is longer than its contemporaries, its “didactic style [...] can be compared with the doctrinal letters of Epicurus” (304). For a survey of Greek literary letters, see Klauck 2006, 108–125. In addition, Theissen (2012, 72–73) provides a survey of other possible models of literary letters for Paul stemming from Jewish tradition: the Letter of Jeremiah (Jer 29:1–23); the expansion of epistula Jeremiae in the LXX Jeremiah; 2 Bar. 77–87; *Paraleipomena Ieremiou*; 2 Macc 1:1–9, 1:10–19; 4Q394–399 (= 4QMMT). However, as Theissen (72) notes, these “never became an independent genre in the OT or the LXX, nor is there such a literary genre in the extracanonical literature of Judaims.”

composed—and above all, are greater in length—than comparable letters among available documentary papyri.¹⁴ However, even though Paul’s letters were written for a particular audience within a particular historical context, they were later considered relevant in other contexts. Paul’s letters later became “literary” due to the weight that was ascribed to them during their reception history, which begins already with the composition of the deutero-Pauline letters and Acts.

This study examines how the above-described mechanisms of literature function in one corpus of the New Testament—namely, in the letters of undisputed Pauline authorship.¹⁵ I will explore how Paul uses psalms¹⁶ in his exegetical, exhortative, and ethical discourses, asking the following questions:

1) What was the status of psalms within Jewish scriptures for Paul? Does it differ from the status held by the Pentateuch and Prophets?

2) What does the use of psalms as different clusters tell us of the source of Paul’s citations and exegesis of the psalms? What kinds of scriptural texts does Paul combine, and which interpretive technique enables him to do so? Has Paul compiled the clusters himself, or does he rely on pre-formatted material?

¹⁴ For a discussion, see Reece 2017, 25: “Paul’s letters [...], while in some cases achieving great length and rising stylistically to an ambitious literary level, remained in essence functional letters addressed and sent to historical recipients and framed by the epistolary conventions more commonly found in the situational letters of the documentary papyri.” On the other hand, Thurén (2001, 8–13) discusses how, during recent decades, Paul’s letters have been investigated from the perspective of seeing them merely as deriving from and dealing with specific practical issues concerning the addressees rather than Paul’s theological treatises. However, though he agrees that these approaches shed new light on the context in which Paul compiled each of his letters (12–13), they “[...] do not alone suffice for understanding of his views and the reasons [...]” of theological issues. And further (17): “[t]he actual letters, despite their pastoral purpose, do not imply that Paul was incapable of explaining his theological ideas; on the contrary. Compared with other New Testament authors his texts indicate highly theological thinking.”

¹⁵ Letters of undisputed Pauline authorship are the following: Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon. These seven letters are heretofore considered and referred to as the genuine Pauline letters. For a discussion of the Pauline text corpus, see, e.g., Taylor 2012, 21–34; Theissen 2012, 82.

¹⁶ In this study, I follow the guidelines of the *SBL Handbook of Style* (4.3.4.1) concerning the designation of psalms: the word is in lowercase when it refers to psalms in general, and capitalized when it refers to a specific psalm—as if the title of the work. The term “the book of Psalms” is generally avoided, used only to designate the canonized MT-150 Book of Psalms or the LXX-151 Book of Psalms. For the problems with using the term “book,” cf. Pajunen 2014, 146–149 and Willgren Davage 2019, 223–224.

3) How do the individually occurring quotations from psalms differ from quotation clusters or pairs of quotations? Do these appear to have the same argumentative force?

In addition to the research questions concerning the status of the psalms during the late Second Temple period as well as the sources of Paul's quotations, I will discuss the argumentative and rhetorical function of both the explicit quotations and the subtle references. My use of the terms "rhetorical function" and "rhetorical effect" is based on modern theories of rhetorics of quotations.¹⁷ Christopher D. Stanley's 2004 monograph that applies these theories to biblical studies by examining how the quotations advance (or fail to advance) Paul's rhetorical strategies is of importance to the present study, and the terms I use derive from Stanley's work.¹⁸ One concept that also concerns the rhetorical effect of quotations and references is labelled "metaleptical aspect," which indicates that the original literary context—for instance the narrative, thematic, or ideological context—of the quoted or referenced text helps to grasp the meaning of the quotation or reference. With regard to describing

¹⁷ As noted in previous research (Stanley 2004, 12; Stamps 2006, 28; Kujanpää 2019, 24), the references to quoting practice in ancient rhetorical works is sparse, and hence they provide only limited aid for studying the rhetorics of quoting by ancient authors. However, Aristotle mentions that appealing to "ancient witnesses," namely "the poets and all other notable persons whose judgments are known to all" (*Rhet.* 1.15.13 [Roberts]), may be useful in forensic rhetorics (i.e., court rhetorics). Aristotle further notes that using maxims (γνώμῃ) may be effective, since the hearers "[...] love to hear [the speaker] succeed in expressing as a universal truth the opinions which they hold themselves about particular cases" (*Rhet.* 2.21.11 [Roberts]). Since ancient rhetorical treaties do not discuss at length the practice of appealing to anterior texts, modern theories of rhetorics may offer more nuanced tools to study the function and effectiveness of quoting from or paraphrasing some earlier text. In addition to Aristotle, Quintilian (*Inst. orat.* 1.8; 2.7; 5.36–44) and Longinus (*On the Sublime* 13.2–3; 14.1) refer to the practice of appealing to earlier tradition (references listed by Stamps 2006, 29). Stamps (2006, 27–28) notes that more comparative study on the relationship between the Jewish and Greco-Roman practices of appealing to authoritative writings is needed, as well as defining the concepts of "authoritative" and "scripture" in Jewish and Hellenistic culture.

¹⁸ Stanley (2004, 15) evaluates "[...] the effectiveness of quotation as a rhetorical strategy [...]" by using Eugene White's (1992) definition of rhetoric, which in turn is influenced by "New Rhetoric" formulated by Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca (1971). According to White (1992, 3), "[r]hetoric is any discourse someone perceives as intended to alter attitudes or beliefs." In addition, Stanley further applies Meir Sternberg's (1982), Herbert Clark and Richard Gerrig's (1990) as well as Gillian Lane-Mercier's (1991) studies on rhetorics of quotations.

quotations and references, this concept was—to my knowledge—first introduced to biblical scholarship by Richard B. Hays.¹⁹

While this study is not exhaustive, as there are 19 explicit quotations from the psalms and roughly 60 subtle references to them in Paul's genuine letters, the discussion will cover all references to and quotations from psalms that occur in clusters or pairs combining psalms, either with a psalm text or another scriptural text, along with four examples of single quotations—as found in Romans and First Corinthians. Hence, in total, 12 instances of quotations and 19 instances of subtle references are covered by this study.

1.2. Previous Studies

Paul, as a reader and user of Jewish scriptures, has long been the focus of critical exegetical studies. The earliest lists of his explicit quotations from scriptures can be found already among Reformation-era writers.²⁰ Furthermore, New Testament references to and quotations from Jewish scriptures have been studied in modern exegetical studies from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.²¹ Paul's letters differ from other texts of the New Testament, as they contain more explicit scriptural quotations—roughly one third of all New Testament quotations—compared to the other texts. Since the number of studies on Paul's use of scripture is abundant, I will

¹⁹ Hays 1989, 20–21, referring to Hollander 1981, 133–149. For a more detailed description of metalepsis, see pp. 42–43 below. The concept of metalepsis to some extent contradicts the so-called Proteus effect which indicates that the quotation or allusion inevitably shifts the meaning of the words. As Sternberg (1982, 107) observes, “quotation brings together at least two discourse-events: that in which things were originally expressed (thought, said, experienced), by one subject (speaker, writer, reflector) and that in which they are cited by another.” However, in my view, both of these aspects are present in quotations, allusions, and subtle references. While the Proteus effect is relevant for certain instances of all types of references, the metaleptical aspect is observable especially in subtle references. My aim is to describe how strongly the metaleptical aspect is present in each quotation, allusion and subtle reference examined in this study.

²⁰ Robert Stephens's Greek Testament published in 1550 (Cited in Ellis 1957, 2).

²¹ Ellis (1957, 2–5) offers a brief survey of early studies on citations in Paul's letters. Of these, Kautzsch's (1869) study of Paul's quotations and Toy's (1884) study of Old Testament quotations in the New Testament are worth mentioning. In addition to Toy, Dittmar (1903) was particularly interested in classifying these citations and comparing them with the LXX and the MT. For a detailed survey of research history classified thematically, see Stanley 1992, 8–28.

discuss only the studies most relevant to the study at hand in the following research survey. Further studies related to the passages in the analysis will also be discussed below in each chapter of the analysis.

1.2.1. Previous Studies on Quotations and Allusions in the Letters of Paul

The methodological shift of studies from the mere listing of quotations to analyses of each case marked a transition in scholarship to account more rigorously for the textual plurality of both the Septuagint and the New Testament. Dietrich-Alex Koch, in his 1986 study *Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*, provides a detailed analysis of all the explicit quotations in the genuine letters of Paul.²² He also provides useful criteria for identifying quotations and paraphrases of and references to scripture as well as the use of biblical language in the genuine Pauline corpus. The criteria are induced by comparing Paul's method of quotation to those of Greco-Roman and Jewish texts (inter alia, the Qumran texts and the writings of Epictetus and Philo).²³ Koch concludes that Paul modifies his source text in 52 cases out of 93 explicit or otherwise marked quotations.²⁴ In addition, Koch compares Paul's quotation and interpretation technique to Paul's predecessors and contemporaries—namely, describing some of the cases as allegorical or typological interpretations comparable to Philo of Alexandria, or homiletic and Midrashic interpretations as well as *peshet* commentary comparable to the Qumran texts.²⁵

Shortly after Koch's study, Christopher D. Stanley published his *Paul and the Language of Scripture*.²⁶ There, Stanley criticizes the lack of a transparent methodology in Koch's study; by way of response, then, Stanley explicates his criteria for identifying alterations in the Pauline quotations.²⁷ Nevertheless, Stanley arrives at

²² Koch 1986. For Koch, the genuine Pauline letters comprise seven undisputed letters.

²³ Koch 1986, 12.

²⁴ Koch 1986, 186. For Koch's list of quotations, see Koch 1986, 21–23.

²⁵ Koch 1986, 197–232.

²⁶ Stanley 1992.

²⁷ Stanley (1992, 56–61) uses the following guideline: 1) *Identify the citations*: “what can be known with relative certainty about the citation technique of a given author” (56); 2) *Establish the text*: “only

similar conclusions, confirming Koch's findings. With his more nuanced methodology, Stanley isolated 112 different readings in 50 separate verses where he identifies that Paul has altered the wording of his source text, whereas, in the rest of the cases, Paul's wording otherwise agrees with his source text.²⁸ Both studies examine all explicit quotations—in addition to implicit direct quotations—in genuine Pauline letters by painstakingly comparing the available manuscript evidence and trying to reconstruct the source text of each Pauline quotation.

Richard B. Hays's study *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* marked a new chapter in Pauline scholarship, emphasizing the subtle references to scripture, and numerous scholars have followed Hays's lead.²⁹ Rather than scrutinizing the wording of Paul's explicit quotations by comparing the manuscript evidence of the LXX as his predecessors did, Hays explored Paul as an interpreter of scripture, studying how Paul read scripture.³⁰ Since the approach in my study partly follows Hays's methodology, I will discuss its application and limitations in further detail later in this chapter.

A recent study by Katja Kujanpää shares the aim of Koch's and Stanley's studies in seeking to uncover the source behind Paul's quotations and the Pauline adaptations in Romans, but Kujanpää takes the developments in Septuagint studies as well as those in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls more rigorously into account, considering deviations between different manuscripts.³¹ Through careful text-critical work, Kujanpää evaluates whether deviations between the wording of the Pauline quotation and the source text should be attributed to Paul's intentional modification thereof or to his use of a different *Vorlage* (i.e., source of the quotation). Kujanpää confirms the

after every reasonable possibility of a manuscript-based explanation has been effectively eliminated will deviation from a presumed *Vorlage* be counted as evidence in favor of a possible authorial adaptation" (57); 3) *Isolate the adaptations*: a "confluence of positive indicators [is required] along with a general lack of negative testimony before a reading can be adjudged an authorial adaptation" (58). These indicators are as follows: a) relation to context, b) characteristic language use, c) use of abnormal expressions, and d) correspondence with practice elsewhere (59–60). Finally, 4) *Compile the evidence*: the aim of Stanley's analysis is "to construct a reliable portrait of the way an author ordinarily handles outside texts in order to compare his technique with the normal citation practice of other contemporary authors" (61).

²⁸ Stanley 1992, 259–260, esp. 260 n. 31.

²⁹ For a list of studies applying Hays's methodology, see, e.g., Waaler 2008, 28 n. 152.

³⁰ Hays 1989, 10.

³¹ Kujanpää 2019. Kujanpää (2019, 13–23, and throughout her study) also evaluates Koch's and Stanley's methodology and findings in detail.

main conclusions of previous studies, stating that a clear majority of the deviations are due to Paul's deliberate modification.³² In addition, Kujanpää broadens the discussion by analyzing the rhetorical function of each quotation in Romans, which she finds to be very diverse. One common approach by Paul, Kujanpää finds, is to use scriptural quotations to ensure either the validity of his argument (Rom 2:24; 4:17; 10:11, 13) or that of prophetic pronouncements (Rom 9:25–26, 27–28, 29; 11:8, 9–10, 26–27; 15:9, 10, 11, 12). Paul also tends to use quotations in place of his own assertions (e.g., Rom 10:19–21).³³ Other rhetorical functions of scriptural quotations that Kujanpää discerns include strengthening Paul's ethos, emphasizing the continuity between scriptural tradition and Paul's teaching, offering stylistic variation, and adding flourish to his argument.³⁴

1.2.2. Previous Studies on Paul's Use of Psalms

Paul's explicit quotations most frequently come from Isaiah (28 times) and psalms (19 times).³⁵ Although psalms appear to be central to Paul, there are very few studies that focus on Paul's use of psalms, particularly in relation to studies on his use of Isaiah.³⁶ For decades, Alan Harmon's dissertation, "Paul's Usage of the Psalms" (1968), was the only thorough study on the subject.³⁷ Harmon's dissertation is not, however, comprehensive in its approach and, furthermore, focuses on both the quotations of psalms in the Pauline letters and the representation of Paul in the book of Acts. While his dissertation remains unpublished, Harmon has published an abridged version of the study in his article "Aspects of Paul's Use of the Psalms."³⁸ Here, with regard to the original literary context of the quotations, Harmon argues that, in contrast to the Qumran psalm commentaries that he views as neglecting the sense of the "original context" of the psalm interpreted, "the apostle is not imposing an arbitrary

³² Kujanpää 2019, 334–336.

³³ Kujanpää 2019, 332–333.

³⁴ Kujanpää 2019, 333–334.

³⁵ See the passages listed on page 30 (notes 135–137) of this study.

³⁶ Wilk 1998; Wagner 2002; Shum 2002.

³⁷ Harmon 1968. Note that Harmon's name is mistakenly printed as "Harman" on the title page of his dissertation.

³⁸ Harmon 1969.

interpretation on the passage but seeking to expound and apply the principles that are clearly taught in it.”³⁹ Nevertheless, it will be shown in the present study that Paul’s interpretive methods are in fact closer to the Qumran pesharim than what Harmon describes and that the effect of the original literary context in Paul’s quotations of the psalms varies widely. As for the textual form of the quotations, Harmon observes that, out of 19 quotations from the psalms,⁴⁰ ten agree with both the LXX and the MT and three with the LXX against the MT. In addition, Harmon notes that Paul’s wording slightly deviates from the LXX in six cases, which he attributes to Paul’s deliberate modifying of the quotation to better fit the context.⁴¹ However, because Harmon does not describe the manuscript evidence or the textual-critical edition on which he bases his observations, it is hard to evaluate his findings. Despite this deficiency, Harmon seems to account well for the textual plurality of the psalms in Greek during the late Second Temple period.⁴²

A fair number of articles have also been written on both the quotations from the psalms and the influence of the psalms on New Testament writers.⁴³ In addition, at least to my knowledge, only one monograph⁴⁴ has been published that covers the quotations from the psalms in the New Testament. However, its discussion on Paul’s use of the psalms is rather limited.

Matthew Scott’s recent study *The Hermeneutics of Christological Psalmody in Paul: An Intertextual Enquiry* focuses on a thematic selection of quotations from the

³⁹ Harmon 1969, 17. Harmon agrees with Dodd’s (1952, 126) argument that, in the New Testament in general, when scriptural passages are excerpted, the broader literary context of the quotation is invited into the new context. Harmon (21–22) presents Rom 10:18, where Paul quotes Ps 19:4, as the most prominent example confirming Dodd’s view.

⁴⁰ Harmon 1969, 23, following Ellis, 1957 150–152. Harmon also includes Ephesians (1:22; 4:8, 26) and Paul’s speech in Acts (13:22, 33, 35) in his list. Harmon does not, however, include the quotation from Ps 13(14):1 in Rom 3:10 (instead listing the catena starting from Rom 3:11–12, with a quotation from Ps 13[14]:2–3) or the indirect quotations of psalms in Rom 2:6; 11:2 in his list.

⁴¹ Harmon 1969, 4.

⁴² Harmon 1969, 4: “[...] we should bear in mind that in pre-Christian times the Pentateuch was the only part of the LXX which possessed a more or less stereotyped text, for the Greek text of the other sections of the Old Testament was very fluid.”

⁴³ See, e.g., Harrisville 1985; Silva 2001; Hays 2005c. Moyise and Menken (eds.) 2004 provide a general survey of the use of psalms in the New Testament. For Paul’s use of psalms, see the contributions of Keesmaat (2004) and Williams (2004) in Moyise and Menken (eds.) 2004.

⁴⁴ Rüsen-Weinhold 2004.

psalms, mainly in Romans—in addition to one reference to 2 Corinthians.⁴⁵ Scott discusses the clearly marked quotations that he identifies as “Christological psalmody,” i.e. quotations for which “Christ might be installed as speaker.”⁴⁶ Furthermore, in his study, the metaleptic aspect of the quotation—the literary context of the psalm—is taken as a hermeneutic tool to interpret how and why Paul quotes the given psalm.⁴⁷ Scott argues that, in the quotations from the psalms that he examines, Christ is the subject of the quotation—namely, “it is *about* Christ” and “voiced by Christ.”⁴⁸ However, Scott continues that Paul’s rhetorical strategy is to establish the Christological subject of particular psalms indirectly.⁴⁹ My analysis also deals with the concept of metalepsis, but, rather than taking metalepsis as a dominant and inevitable aspect of scriptural quotation or reference, I will evaluate whether each quotation or allusion indeed carries a metaleptic connotation in its Pauline context. In addition, since it is difficult to know in which form Paul had psalms at his disposal, I do not consider the larger literary context—i.e., the place of a psalm in the subsequent collection—of a psalm an essential aspect for the analysis.⁵⁰ In sum, the framework of Scott’s study produces results that are rather speculative and theologically loaded, though they nevertheless provide a fruitful heuristic tool, portraying Paul as a poetic reader of the psalms.

Channing L. Crisler’s study *Reading Romans as Lament* examines the explicit quotations from the psalms narrowed down by using thematic, or perhaps more accurately, form-critical criteria. He first defines what is meant by “lament” and then analyses their occurrences in Romans. Crisler uses lexical criteria to identify laments,

⁴⁵ Scott 2014.

⁴⁶ Scott 2014, 8.

⁴⁷ Scott 2014, 10, 14. Scott follows Hays’s definition of metalepsis: “a rhetorical figure that creates a correspondence between two texts such that text B should be understood in light of a broad interplay with the precursor text A, encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly cited” (Hays 2005a, 43, n. 38). Scott further refines the definition as follows: “readers who recognise the figurative act are enjoined to participate in it. Insofar as it is recognised as *metalepsis* [...], the scope of participation is not unlimited. Taking what is ‘explicitly cited’ to be part of a whole, the reader is enjoined to complete the figure, not merely to *supplement* it” (Scott 2014, 14, emphasis original).

⁴⁸ Scott 2014, 188.

⁴⁹ Scott 2014, 188.

⁵⁰ The question regarding different compilations of psalms during the late Second Temple period will be explored more thoroughly in the following chapter of my study.

defining them as comprising three parts: 1) the lamenter, 2) God, and 3) the enemy of the lamenter. In some cases, it seems that Crisler's lexical criteria for identifying a lament are so broad that they implicate psalms that are not traditionally considered lamentations (e.g., Ps 50[51], which is better described as a penitential psalm).⁵¹ Crisler's stated aim is to focus on the "literary form of lament rather than the historical setting behind lament."⁵² In contrast, my own study aims to reconstruct the historical setting of the use and status of the psalms during the late Second Temple period to the extent that the evidence allows. I will then use this background data to reconstruct Paul's way of using certain psalms in Romans and First Corinthians.

Christiane Böhm's recent study *Die Rezeption der Psalmen in den Qumranschriften, bei Philo von Alexandrien und Corpus Paulinum* answers the demand for a more rigorous assessment of Paul's use of the psalms in comparison with his contemporaries and provides invaluable background information for my study.⁵³ Unfortunately, the broad scope of Böhm's study produces—in some cases, misleadingly—superficial discussions of the development of and disagreements in research, particularly concerning the Qumran material. For instance, Böhm does not discuss different possible reconstructions for 11QPs^a, nor does she engage with the intense scholarly debate over the status of the scroll, instead deferring to Ulrich Dahmen's⁵⁴ arguments as the basis for her investigation. Therefore, to avoid limiting my discussion of the use of psalms during the late Second Temple period to only one perspective, in chapter 3 I will explore at length the use and status of psalms in that period—including methodological considerations—and how these are reflected in Paul's use of psalms.

1.2.3. *The Cultural Milieu of Reading and Writing*

Previous studies have raised questions concerning the cultural context in which Paul produced his letters. For the purposes of the present study, the following three intertwined themes are the most significant: 1) the role of oral literature and

⁵¹ Cf., Crisler 2016, 42.

⁵² Crisler 2016, 19, n. 14.

⁵³ Böhm 2017.

⁵⁴ Dahmen 2003.

memorization,⁵⁵ 2) Paul's access to written documents, and 3) the plurality of scriptural compositions and the evidence of scriptural excerpts.

Oral and Written Tradition in Greco-Roman and Jewish Literary Culture and the Role of Memorization

Depending on the estimation, it has been suggested that the literacy rate in the Roman Empire in the first century CE was 10–15 percent among men and under 5 percent among women.⁵⁶ Still, because written works were performed orally,⁵⁷ the illiterate majority was able to participate in literate culture as well.⁵⁸ Thus, although a relatively minor part of the population was able to write, which was the task of trained scribes, more people participated in the reception of literary works. Moreover, previous research has referred to the concept of “functional literacy” to argue that one should define what qualifies a person as literate on different occasions and in different periods in antiquity rather than simply speak of literacy rates.⁵⁹ Some scholars have also argued that, because of the cumbersomeness of citing a scroll, it became a useful skill to be able to memorize large amounts of text.⁶⁰ Still, even if scrolls were unwieldy,

⁵⁵ Psalms especially have often been thought to be easy to memorize since they are presumed to have been recited in private and public piety settings. Hengel (1991, 35–36), for instance, claims that “[...] Paul knew large parts of his Holy Scripture off by heart. This would be true above all of the Greek psalter, the prayer book of Judaism.” This claim is followed in Crisler 2016, 48. Cf. Hengel (1991, 35), who criticizes Koch's view that Paul relied solely on written sources. In addition, Toy (1884) argues for the oral influence of Aramaic, which Paul would have become acquainted with in the synagogue. For theories about Paul's use of the Aramaic Targumim with the Septuagint, see Böhl (1873). Roepe (1827), in contrast, notes that Paul usually quotes scripture according to the LXX text, likewise claiming that this is done from memory. Cited in Stanley 1992, 13; Ellis 1957, 4–5.

⁵⁶ Harris (1989, 328–330) notes that by the time of the Persian wars, 10% of the population (male and female) were literate. The literacy rate did not increase significantly later, as during the Hellenistic and Roman period only 10–15 % of the population were literate. The literacy rate of the Jewish population during the Roman period in Palestine was 3%, as Hezser (2001, 18–26, esp. 35) notes that the Jewish population were more literate in the cities than in the rural areas, where 70 % of population lived. However, rather than trying to calculate literacy rates, Hezser analyses the social aspects of literacy: education and availability of writing materials and texts.

⁵⁷ See, Olbricht 1997, 166.

⁵⁸ Stanley 1997, 21.

⁵⁹ Thomas (2009, 16), e.g., lists the literacy of being able to write and compose literary works, banking literacy, and “name literacy.”

⁶⁰ E.g., Porter 2008b.

the authors must not have had to rely solely on their memorization skills. Even scribes unfamiliar with the Homeric dialect were able to provide citations of Homer that agreed with the standardized text.⁶¹ Thus, the relatively large number of Homeric anthologies, lexica, glossaries, and summaries may have served as source material for authors citing Homer.⁶² Furthermore, certain cultural and ethnic groups in the first century CE would have had access to written documents, whether in the form of anthologies or entire works.⁶³

Theories about Paul's Method of Drawing Excerpts

As for Paul's writing technique, it has been argued that Greco-Roman literature and Jewish texts serve as worthy comparanda. As it was common practice at the time to draw excerpts (ἐκλογέω) and to use notebooks (ὑπομνήματα), scholars surmise that Paul must have accessed the written form of texts periodically to make copies for his own use.⁶⁴ Christopher D. Stanley portrays Paul's method of drawing excerpts as follows:

As he [Paul] came across passages that promised to be useful later on, he presumably copied them down onto his handy wax tablet, or perhaps even directly onto a loose sheet of parchment. [...] This growing collection of biblical excerpts would then become his primary resource

⁶¹ The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were standardized by Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 220 – c. 144 BCE) to conform to “a common vulgate text that is reflected in nearly all Homeric papyri” in the middle of the second century BCE (Porter, 2008b, 111, referring to West 1967, 16, 18–19).

⁶² Porter 2008b, 112.

⁶³ Porter 2008b, 115. For evidence of these anthologies, see Porter 2008b, 111–115. Furthermore, Stanley (1990, 72–73) argues that since there are Greco-Roman authors who cite a large amount of text by different authors (e.g., Homer, Euripides, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Hesiod are cited in *Letter of Condolence to Apollonius* often attributed to Plutarch) and since these citations follow the standardized texts, it would be unlikely that the author would have relied solely on memory. Rather, it is more plausible that there existed anthologies containing different texts, which would then have aided the process of citation.

⁶⁴ As Greco-Roman parallels, Stanley (1992, 74–75) lists the following: Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (1.6.14); Aristotle's *Topics* (1.14); Athenaeus's *Deipnosophists* (8.336d); Plutarch's *Peri Euthumias* 464F; Cicero's *De Inventione* (2.4.); Pliny the Younger mentions in *Epistles* 3.5 that his uncle, Pliny the Elder, compiled excerpts and notes. (Cited in Stanley 1992, 74–75.)

of meditation and study in those times when he [...] had no access to physical rolls of Scripture.⁶⁵

Rather than discussing Paul's reading and writing practice in such a detailed manner, I will survey the possible social and physical settings in which Paul had access to scripture, particularly the psalms, whether in written or oral form. Before discussing these settings, however, I first survey in chapter 3 the existing external evidence surrounding the use of the psalms in the late Second Temple period as well as the evidence surrounding the institution of the synagogue. Previous scholarship often assumes that the institution of the synagogue had already been developed and that the psalms were being used and recited as a part of synagogue worship in the late Second Temple period.⁶⁶ This assumption has further raised the hypothesis that the psalms were popular and well-known and could therefore have been recited from memory.⁶⁷ However, since there is no explicit evidence of such a use of psalms, I will not draw conclusions of how Paul might have studied the wording of a particular psalm based on this hypothesis.⁶⁸ At the least, psalms were most likely used in different types of gatherings as part of devotional life,⁶⁹ a matter which I discuss further in chapter 3 of this study.

Pre-formed Material behind Paul's Quotations?

The differences between Paul's quotations of scriptural texts and the available readings of the LXX-manuscripts have been explained as stemming from factors external to Paul. According to some theories, the quotations by the New Testament writers have been traced back to pre-shaped excerpts, where the wording of the

⁶⁵ Stanley 1992, 74. The Jewish parallels are attested in the discoveries of the Judean Desert, of which Stanley (1992, 76–77) mentions the following: 4QTestimonia, 4Q158, 4Q177, and 4Q176.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Koch (1986, 199–201), who assumes that synagogue liturgy existed in the Jewish diaspora during Paul's lifetime. Similarly, Stanley 1992, 52.

⁶⁷ Cf. Harmon 1969, 7. See also the references listed in n. 55 above.

⁶⁸ Similarly cautiously already Martin 1967, 3–4.

⁶⁹ The reading-aloud of psalms or prayers is mentioned much less than the reading of the Torah in connection to the synagogue. For these instances, see Josephus, *A. J.* 14.260 (τὰς πατρῶν εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας); *Vita* 295; Philo, *Spec.* 3, 171; Matt 6:5. Runesson et al. (2008, 8 n. 15) cite Josephus, *Vita* 290; *A. J.* 14.216, as evidence that prayer possibly played a role in public assemblies or festivals. See further the discussion in sec. 3.2.3 of this study.

quotation had already been adapted to some earlier usage. Edwin Hatch, in turn, suggests that the discrepancy between the quotations and the available manuscripts are due to “variation in the current text.”⁷⁰ Furthermore, Hatch believes that the composite quotations by ancient writers indicate that they used collections of extracts from scripture in composing them.⁷¹ Rendel Harris further claims that these testimonies had been compiled to be used against Jewish opponents.⁷² This view is partly followed by Barnabas Lindars who hypothesizes that some of the New Testament quotations could have been derived from a collection of apologetic proof-texts, but not solely against Jewish opponents.⁷³

Another option, suggested already before Harris’s and Lindars’s hypotheses, is that variation in the wording of the cited scriptures is due to recitation by heart and, thus, to memory lapses.⁷⁴ This argument has been rightly criticized since there seems to be a discrepancy between the claims that meticulous memorization was common in antiquity and that Paul’s deviations from available scriptural texts would have stemmed from memory *lapses*.⁷⁵ Therefore, it is more economical to see that Paul has actively modified his scriptural quotations. Furthermore, nothing can be said with certainty of the form, whether oral or written, of Paul’s source of scriptural references. Rather, the evidence for the use of different kinds of note aids in the Greco-Roman world and Jewish antiquity serves as a foundation for considering Paul’s possibilities

⁷⁰ Hatch (1889) 1970b, 204.

⁷¹ Hatch (1889) 1970b, 203

⁷² Harris 1916; Harris 1920, see esp. pp. 16–17.

⁷³ Lindars 1961, 19, 23–24. Lindars further (27) notes that there are three factors that may explain the differences between the wording of the quotations and their source texts: 1) deliberate alteration, 2) selection of reading (i.e. the author happened to have access to a different text type compared to the subsequently standardized LXX), and 3) quoting from memory. Lindars himself considers that it is most plausible that the authors who quote scripture deliberately altered the text form to fit their interpretation of it.

⁷⁴ Michel (1929) 1979, 80: “[o]ft weichen die paulinischen Zitate nur deshalb vom Texte der LXX ab, weil der Apostel aus dem Gedächtnis und daher ungenau zitiert.” See also earlier studies listed in note 55 above.

⁷⁵ Stanley 1992, 17; Kujanpää 2019, 9. Thus also Harmon (1969, 7), who, in advocating the view that many of the quotations in the NT are drawn from memory, argues that “the Psalms in the New Testament [having] a tendency to be cited most accurately of all is by no means inconsistent with quotation from memory.”

in using such notes.⁷⁶ Porter even holds it plausible that, whenever Paul cites only one particular text from scripture, he might have been “exposed to Jewish methods of compiling important verses of Scripture into testimony volumes for easy reference in the propagation of theological agendas or for liturgical purposes.”⁷⁷

Randolph Richards suggests that Paul has composed his letters using secretarial assistance.⁷⁸ He first compares the purpose, structure, and content of Greek and Latin private letters to Pauline letters, and then discusses the possibility that Paul may have used co-workers (*συνεργοί*)⁷⁹ to help compose his letters. Richards distinguishes three roles of the secretarial aid that are involved in the process of composing and delivering letters in antiquity: scribes, the person who carries the letter, and the person who reads (orally) the letter to the recipient.⁸⁰ He also investigates how Paul might have coordinated work with his secretary and whether Paul might have incorporated pre-formed material, both from earlier traditions (early Christian and Jewish) and from his own notes, into his letters.⁸¹ Richards includes in his study all the letters in the New Testament with superscripts claiming Pauline authorship—i.e., besides the undisputed letters, also 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossians, and the Pastoral epistles. He claims that the inconsistency in language and theology is (or might be) due to Paul’s use of a secretary. However, I find this claim unconvincing, since inconsistency in language and theology are two among the many factors that have sparked doubts about the genuine Pauline authorship of these letters. More recently, Steven Reece has compared Paul’s letters to other Greco-Roman letters around Paul’s

⁷⁶ For sources, see note 64 above.

⁷⁷ Porter 2008b, 120.

⁷⁸ Richards 1991.

⁷⁹ Richards 1991, 129; 153. The term *συνεργός* is used to refer to co-workers of Paul in Rom 16:3, 9, 21; 1 Cor 3:9 (referring to Apollos and Paul as “co-workers of God” in first person pl.); 2 Cor 8:23 (referring to Titus as co-worker); Phil 2:25 (referring to Epaphroditus as co-worker), 4:3 (referring to Clement and perhaps also to Eudoia and Syntyche mentioned in v. 2 as co-workers); 1 Thess 3:2 (referring to Timothy); Philem 1 (referring to Timothy) and 24 (referring to Mark, Aristarchus, Demas and Luke).

⁸⁰ Richards 1992, 2. Richards notes that the role of scribes varies from mere copying, i.e. making a duplicate of an original text, to having a role of an expert in the given literary corpus. In the case of Jewish scribes, they are often described as experts in Jewish law; cf. the use the term *γραμματεὺς* in the New Testament, referring to experts in Jewish law.

⁸¹ Richards 1991, 129.

time.⁸² Since Paul often adds greetings or even autographic notes (Gal 6:13) at the end of his letters, it is likely that someone other than Paul was responsible for writing the body of the letter.⁸³ Thus, Reece argues that Paul must have used professional scribes to write down the letters he dictated, which would have been common practice during Paul's time.⁸⁴ Such a distinction between the author responsible for the ideas of the work on the one hand and the scribe responsible for the material production of the work on the other has been emphasized by recent scholarship.⁸⁵

1.3. The Use of Different Textual References and Connections in Paul

Paul's writings comprise varying degrees of references and connections—whether explicitly marked or very subtle—to earlier literary traditions attested in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint as well as other sources of Early Judaism. Since some of these links are explicitly marked, Paul likely intended his audience to recognize them. Other links are only subtly expressed and require a detailed evaluation as to their purpose and the plausibility of their use as references. In addition, there is a vast range of linguistic expressions in Paul's writings that either explicitly use or subtly reflect scriptural language. This section aims at defining the degrees of textual connections in Paul and explicating the methodology used in this study by evaluating the methodology of previous scholarship. Before proceeding to the definition of terms used in this study, I explore the theoretical roots of some terms used to describe these textual connections.

⁸² Reece (2017, 18) notes that Greek letter writing emerged in the late fifth and early fourth century BCE, or at least the earliest surviving evidence can be dated around that time. For a survey of the ancient letters in comparison to the New Testament letters, see Klauck 2006. For a brief summary, see nn. 10–14 above in this study.

⁸³ Cf. Rom 16:22; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1. See also the references to persons mentioned by their name for instance in Rom 16:1 (Phoebe), 23 (Tertius writing in first person sg.); 1 Cor 1:1 (Sosthenes); 2 Cor 1:1 (Timothy), 19 (Silvanus and Timothy); Phil 2:19 (Timothy), 25 (Epaphroditus). These mentions may indicate that the persons functioned as co-writers or carriers of the letters. Cf. Richards 1991, 154–157. See also the “co-workers” listed in n. 79 above.

⁸⁴ Reece 2017, 23–24.

⁸⁵ Hezser *forthcoming*.

1.3.1. Intertextuality

There are some scholars (also in the field of literary theory) who use the term intertextuality as an umbrella term for the “textual exploitation of another text.”⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the concept “intertextuality” is not univocal.⁸⁷ The roots of its use can be traced back to the poststructuralist Julia Kristeva, who used the concept of intertextuality in her two essays—“The Bounded Text” and “Word, Dialogue and Novel”—that appeared originally in French in 1969; collected and translated into English in *Desire in Language* (1980). In the essay “Word, Dialogue and Novel,” Kristeva describes her view of Mikhail Bakhtin’s thoughts on dialogism, according to which dialogism does not literally mean dialogue between characters in a novel.⁸⁸ Bakhtin represents these thoughts in his studies *Rabelais and His World* and *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*. These studies focus on developing Saussure’s linguistic theory of signifier and signified. Kristeva notes that Bakhtin was the first to suggest that “[...] any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of *intertextuality* replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least *double*.”⁸⁹ In short, “[...] Bakhtinian dialogism identifies writing as both subjectivity and communication, or better, as intertextuality.”⁹⁰ According to Kristeva, texts (in a broad sense, referring to any cultural production) cannot be interpreted in isolation; they should be interpreted in the “[...] *intersection of textual surfaces* rather than a *point* (a fixed meaning).”⁹¹ In her other essay, “The Bounded Text,” Kristeva explains that the term

⁸⁶ Pasco 1994, 5. Pasco specifies that intertextuality includes a varying degree of attitudes (satire, parody, reference, allusion, and borrowing—to name a few), distinguishing between three main categories of such attitudes: imitation, opposition, and allusion.

⁸⁷ For a comprehensive survey of its history, use, afterlife, and conceptual predecessors, see Juvan 2008, esp. 43–44. For different uses of the concept of “intertextuality” in literary and cultural studies, see the contributions in Plett (ed.) 1991. See also Graham 2011.

⁸⁸ “Bakhtin’s term *dialogism* as a semic complex thus implies the double, language, and another logic” Kristeva (1969) 1980b, 71, italics hers.

⁸⁹ Kristeva (1969) 1980b, 66, emphasis original.

⁹⁰ Kristeva (1969) 1980b, 68.

⁹¹ Kristeva (1969) 1980b, 65, when describing Mikhail Bakhtin’s structural analysis of narrative, which has influenced her poststructuralistic analysis. Emphasis original. One could see structuralism as a heroic attempt to reduce texts—and, furthermore, all human cultural productions—to a set of logical patterns, in which case post-structuralism could be seen as the process of scrutinizing the subjective and dialogical relationship between text and reader.

“intertextuality” implies that any text is a manifestation of *productivity*, consisting of various anterior or synchronic utterances.⁹²

There are many ways to categorize intertextual phenomena. In literary studies, Gérard Genette has developed the concept of intertextuality further, classifying “textual transcendence” or “transtextuality” into five categories: intertextuality (within which he counts the practices of quoting, plagiarism, and allusion), paratextuality (any secondary signals, either allographic or autographic, such as titles, subtitles, and illustrations), metatextuality (commentary), architextuality (when “a relationship is completely silent, articulated at most only by a paratextual mention”⁹³), and hypertextuality (any relationship uniting text B [hypertext] to an earlier text A [hypotext]).⁹⁴ However, Genette’s theory and classification do not, in my view, describe the practice of ancient authors well, since his reading of literary works is not primarily interested in reconstructing the historical background of a text but rather in “open structuralism.”⁹⁵

Kristeva later criticized the way source-seekers have applied the concept of “intertextuality” to the identification of causal relations between texts.⁹⁶ Rather, for her, as for other poststructuralists, intertextuality “suggests that each text is situated for each reader in an ever-changing web composed of innumerable texts.”⁹⁷ In the words of The Bible and Culture Collective,

⁹² Kristeva (1969) 1980a, 36. Allen (2011, 35-36) aptly describes how the concept of intertextuality in a Kristevian sense involves the societal level: “[...] the on-going ideological struggles and tensions which characterize language and discourse in society will continue to reverberate in the text itself. [...] Texts do not present clear and stable meanings; they embody society’s dialogic conflict over the meaning of words.”

⁹³ Genette (1982) 1997, 4.

⁹⁴ Genette (1982) 1997, 1–5.

⁹⁵ Genette (1982) 1997. Genette’s theory of text has been labelled as “open structuralism.” For instance, Gerald Prince in his preface of Genette’s *Palimpsests* describes “open structuralism” as follows: “Rather than insisting on the ‘text itself,’ its closure, the relations within it that make it what it is, he focuses on relations between texts, the ways they reread and rewrite one another, the ‘perpetual transfusion or transtextual perfusion’ of literature.” (Genette [1982] 1997, ix).

⁹⁶ Kristeva 1984, 59–60: “[t]he term inter-textuality denotes [...] transposition of one (or several) sign system(s) into another; but since this term has often been understood in the banal sense of ‘study of sources,’ we prefer the term *transposition*. [...]” Italics hers.

⁹⁷ The Bible and Culture Collective 1995, 130. Ten scholars that have dubbed themselves “The Bible and Culture Collective” together published the book *The Postmodern Bible* in 1995, arguing for transformative biblical criticism. These authors argue that traditional historical criticism “brackets out

Text is not limited to written language. The self is a text; any instance of signification is a text [...] Whatever a text is, it is not a stable, self-identical, enduring object but a place of intersection in a network of signification. [...] There is no extratextual reality to which texts refer or which gives texts their meaning; meaning or reference are possible only in relation to this network, as functions of intertextuality.⁹⁸

Since the term itself was coined in the milieu of cultural studies, where static meaning and authorial intent were inherently problematized, some scholars have argued that, when the term is borrowed into biblical studies, it brings along all these connotations and is hence ill-suited for historical-critical approaches and diachronic analyses. Because of this, some biblical scholars have raised the issue of the suitability of the term.⁹⁹ Furthermore, there are vast numbers of biblical scholars who have criticized the way the term has been used as a convenient means of describing the influences of some texts on others, with disregard for its post-structural roots, rather than as a “theoretical reflection upon [...] intertextuality as a cultural and ethical matter,” as it was originally intended.¹⁰⁰ Thus, while some critics suggest abandoning the term entirely,¹⁰¹ other scholars have attempted to synthesize “traditional” historical criticism with postmodern self-reflection.¹⁰² Historically orientated scholars who use

the contemporary milieu and excludes any examination of the ongoing formative effects of the Bible” (1). Moreover, they claim that “traditional interpretations are themselves enactments of domination or, in simpler terms power plays” (3). Against this background, the authors hope to bring “biblical scholarship into meaningful [...] engagement with the political, cultural, and epistemological critiques [...] that have proved so fruitful in other literary studies and cultural criticism” (2).

⁹⁸ The Bible and Culture Collective 1995, 130, emphasis theirs.

⁹⁹ For a criticism of the use of the term “intertextuality” in biblical studies, see, e.g., Hatina 1999, 29, who asserts that the concept of “intertextuality” should be abandoned altogether in biblical studies since its use would be divorced from its post-structuralist context.

¹⁰⁰ For a critique of how some biblical scholars use the term “intertextuality” to denote source-hunting, see Aichele and Phillips 1995, 9–10, 14.

¹⁰¹ Hatina 1999. Moyise (2009, 28) lists more studies that view the use of the term in biblical studies problematic.

¹⁰² For the use of the concept of “intertextuality” in this sense in biblical studies, see, e.g., Boyarin 1990; Stahlberg Cushing 2008. Furthermore, Clines (2009, 543) uses the term “postmodern textual criticism” to refer to textual investigation that focuses on the plurality of textual witnesses without an aim to reconstruct the original. Rather, as Clines (543) formulates, postmodern textual criticism “invites us to a new adventure with manuscripts, to consider the extant manuscript and their texts in and of themselves – for what they witness to, whether that is the conditions of their own production or the

the term “intertextuality” have refined the intertextual approach so as to make it relevant to historical studies.¹⁰³ Moreover, some of these studies are more hermeneutically orientated, in the sense that they are sometimes theologically motivated.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, some critics seek to apply the critical theory to biblical studies as it had been formulated in cultural studies, signaling their departure from the quest for textual influence and authorial intent.¹⁰⁵

Biblical scholars who are skeptical of the approaches linked to post-structural criticism lament that such a methodology erodes the rigors and scientific integrity of scholarly findings.¹⁰⁶ Contrary to this skeptical attitude, I find that postmodern self-reflection on epistemological questions is highly relevant to modern biblical studies. Aichele et al. describe postmodernist analyses as uncovering

purposes for which they were produced. In a word, and interest in *originals* is a modern interest; an interest in *copies* is a postmodern interest” (emphasis original).

¹⁰³ A comprehensive overview of this discussion is given in Hays, Alkier and Huizenga (eds.) 2009; Oropeza and Moyise (eds.) 2016. For an application of the theory of intertextuality, see Waaler 2008, esp. 36.

¹⁰⁴ Hays 1989; Scott 2014; Hays 2016; Crisler 2016. For a discussion on the value of plural interpretations, see, e.g., Watson 1997, 95–96: “[i]t is said that meaning is determined not by authors but by readers, located within their respective contexts or interpretive communities. Interpretation is therefore necessarily pluralistic. [...] It is said that this new pluralism has the advantage of comprehensiveness. In particular, explicitly religious or theological interpretative practices need no longer be excluded, since the ‘value-free neutrality’ that the exclusion was intended to protect has ceased to seem desirable or plausible.” In a similar manner as the concept of “intertextuality,” Thurén (2001, 3, 21, 22) uses a concept of *dynamic text* in describing how interpretation is in interaction between the reader and the text. In contrast, approaches that view the text as *containing* information represent in his terminology a conceptualization of a *static text*. Thurén (25–26) presents the tension between a theologically oriented reading and a “dynamic text” in the following way: “[t]hus when searching for a theology, we must be aware that we are posing ‘the wrong question’ to the text. We are reading it for another purpose than that for which it was originally written. We need a more realistic Pauline theology, but it is difficult indeed to ask a static question of a dynamic text.”

¹⁰⁵ Phillips 1991; Moore 1994; Pippin 1994; The Bible and Culture Collective 1995; Moore 2010. For an application of postmodern theories specifically to Pauline studies, see, e.g., Marchal (ed.) 2012. For applications of critical theory to biblical studies in general, see, e.g., the contributions in Struthers Malbon and McKnight 1994 (eds.); Moore and Sherwood 2011; Breed 2014. Biblical studies from the perspective of deconstructive poetics have developed by, e. g., Phillips 1994; Pyper 1996; Landy 2001. In addition, Paul’s letters and Paul as a character have served as inspirations for many philosophers, such as Slavoj Žižek and Alain Badiou. For an exegetical assessment of some of these studies, see Dunning 2014.

¹⁰⁶ For a survey of this discussion, see Clines 2009. For the perspective of historical studies in general, see Zagorin 1999.

unlimited semiosis, an endless play of intertextual signification, rather than a Final Signified or First Signifier. Meaning is not located *in* the single text, planted there perhaps by an originating author, but instead meaning is only found between texts, as they are brought together in the insight (and corresponding blindness) of their various readers.¹⁰⁷

Since the term “intertextuality” has been used in such varying—and also conflicting—ways, I avoid using it to describe textual connections in Paul’s letters. Furthermore, since I place myself in the camp of the more traditional attempt to “count allusions,”¹⁰⁸ seeking to detect—to some extent—authorial intent, the meaning of a text, and, hence, textual influences, assuming that there are anterior (i.e., the psalms) and posterior (i.e., Paul’s letters) texts, it would be perhaps misleading to use a term that connotes departure from these attempts. However, I seek to bear in mind the epistemological critique raised by many postmodern thinkers while interpreting my sources.

Authorial intent?

As described above, contrary to the post-structural use of the term “intertextuality,” which aims to make sense of the relations that a reader finds between texts (whether synchronic or diachronic), the term is usually used in biblical studies to describe the chronological influence of an earlier text on a later one—hence, in a diachronic sense.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, endeavors of biblical scholarship on such phenomena often become frustrated by the plethora of definitions and criticisms of the application of

¹⁰⁷ Aichele et al. 2009, 399.

¹⁰⁸ This description is pejoratively used by Aichele and Phillips 1995, 9.

¹⁰⁹ See, e.g. Hays 1989; Hays et al. (eds.) 2009; Scott 2014; Hays 2016. Waaler’s (2008, 33–36) discussion of the problems with using the concept of intertextuality for historical purposes is instructive: “intertextuality in some contexts seems to deconstruct so-called ‘original meaning,’ especially when it is used in a synchronic approach, focusing on our modern perception of the text” (35). For the methodological and epistemological gap between postmodern views and historical-critical exegesis, see Aichele and Phillips 1995; Aichele et al. (2009), esp. 395, 399–403. Although I agree with Aichele et al. that historical criticism needs to address scholarly subjectivity and to foster an awareness of distance from the text, I disagree with their caricatured description of the historical-critical method as entertaining a hegemonic status in academia and in the churches: “[...] historical criticism has worked hand in hand with the established churches, to the extent that both scholar and church person take history as equivalent of religious truth” (395).

postmodern theories to biblical studies.¹¹⁰ This has also to do with the plurality of interpretations of Paul's use of textual links, since recognizing a subtle textual link is based on each scholar's subjective view.

Often, the debate concerning subtle references revolves around the binary of *intentionality* versus *inadvertence*.¹¹¹ This question appears to be the issue also in the conflict between the historically oriented biblical research and postmodern approaches. How can we evaluate whether the reference interpreted by the reader was also intended by the author? Furthermore, was the reference identified by the scholar also recognized by the original recipient of the text—namely, Paul's audience? To complicate matters more, the "audience" can be further distinguished between the actual audience and the implied/ideal audience. In literary theory, the implied reader exists solely at the textual level, whereas the concept of the "implied/ideal audience/reader" in biblical studies is used to refer to the individuals the (historical) author aims to or appears to ideally address. According to literary theory, the implied reader/audience would reveal the intention of only the *implied* author. This difference is partly due to the separate concerns regarding the research questions between biblical studies and literary theory.¹¹² In an effort to ground such studies on evidence, some

¹¹⁰ The plurality of definitions partly results from the profusion of definitions of postmodernity itself. Moore (2010, 13ff) discusses movements of thought with the "post-" prefix (e.g., combined with structuralism, colonialism, and modernism) in relation to biblical studies. The postmodern approaches can be divided generally into three categories: epistemological (e.g., poststructuralism), aesthetic (e.g., narratology), and political (e.g., postcolonial approaches, ideological criticism, feminism, queer theories, intersectionality). These categories are my own modifications of those presented in The Bible and Culture Collective 1995, 4.

¹¹¹ For an early critique of identifying textual parallels inherently as influence, see Sandmel 1962.

¹¹² For the application of the term "implied audience", see, e.g., by Kujanpää (2019, 29) who formulates her endeavor as follows: "Describing Paul's implied audience in detail is beyond the scope of this study, but I am interested in one aspect: I wish to make transparent what kind of external knowledge the audience needs to understand the quotations Paul uses." Stanley (2008) critically assesses Hays's (1989) attempt to analyze scriptural echoes that an implied audience might grasp by introducing theories of low literacy rates through antiquity. Stanley (2008, 155) states that, in Hays's portrait of Paul, "[...] Paul constructed his biblical arguments for an 'implied audience' that was [reflected on the historical evidence of literacy] incapable of consulting the original context of most of his biblical references." This criticism, however, fuses the distinction between implied audience as mere textual phenomenon and real audience as a historical phenomenon. For the literary theory behind the categories of the real author, the implied author, the implied reader, and the real reader, see (regarding the analysis of implied author) Booth (1961) 1983, 16–20, 70–71, 73, 138 (and throughout his study), who is followed by Chatman 1978, 147–151, nuancing and broadening the categories further (with the concepts of real author, implied

scholars have suggested that, while examining allusions and explicit quotations, biblical scholars should focus on the intentions of the author, detectable through the implied audience of the text, whereas the intertextual approach should be seen as readerly activity when it is applied to biblical studies.¹¹³ Similarly, I consider the observance of subtle textual connections between Paul's letters and the psalms to be readerly activity: it enables one to decipher what parts of the psalms are evoked, and further, how the language and themes of the psalms are part of Paul's mindset and vocabulary (as construed by the reader), although Paul would not explicitly or even deliberately indicate their use. Hence, subtle references allow the reader to detect how the author has composed his or her work—albeit they may not have deliberately done so—which after all provide clues of the writing process itself.¹¹⁴ In other words, subtle references represent more closely the *reformulation* of scriptural language by the author than those references that follow their source verbatim.¹¹⁵

The debate over intentionality concerns the quest for meaning in literary works: who dictates it or where does it reside? In the 1940s and 1950s, the status of the historical author of a given work as the holder of the “true meaning” of a text was called into question by New Criticism and Wimsatt and Beardsley in their essay “Intentional Fallacy.”¹¹⁶ They argued that autobiographical information of the poet (their focus was on poetry) should not be used as a key to authorial intent: “The use

author, narrator, implied reader, and real reader). See also Martin 1986, 152–172, esp. 154, who lists, to name a few, the following: implied reader, informed reader, ideal reader, flesh-and-blood reader, super-reader. In literary theory, the concept of the implied author is also criticized by Phelan (2017) for ignoring the role of characters in the narrative and in the communication model. In addition, he criticizes the concept of implied author as being redundant.

¹¹³ See, e.g., Scott (2014, 6), who argues that “[q]uotation and allusion alike foreground authorial intent [...] but metalepsis [= echo] is formally contingent upon readerly activity [...]” and further: “[...] echo appears as a kind of intertextual meaning effect, independent of authorial intent, anchored more by the competence of readers” (11, referring to Hays 1989, 20).

¹¹⁴ Cf. Ginzburg (1989, 110–111), who illustrates the method of micro-history by an analogue of an arthistorian who deciphers whether a painting is authentic or not by paying attention to “[...] the parts of a painting executed most rapidly [...] ‘which depend more on the artist’s fantasy than on the actual reality of the object’” (111).

¹¹⁵ Cf. Jassen (2014, 216), who states that “[t]he emphasis on reformulation of scriptural language rather than explicit citation is consistent with the centrality of paraphrase as the primary method of scriptural interpretation in the Second Temple period [...]”.

¹¹⁶ Wimsatt and Beardsley (1954) 1967.

of biographical evidence need not involve intentionalism, because while it may be evidence of what the author intended, it may also be evidence of the meaning of his words and the dramatic character of his utterance.”¹¹⁷ Some biblical scholars have argued that their attempts differ from those formulated in literary theory, contending that Wimsatt and Beardsley’s critique did not apply to historical studies since their primary point was that the “[...] intention of the author is neither available nor desirable as a standard for judging the success of a work of literary art [...].”¹¹⁸ However, it is noteworthy that Wimsatt and Beardsley do speak about the *meaning* of the poem in their essay formulating three types of evidence from which the meaning is derived: 1) It can be “[...] discovered through the semantics and syntax of a poem [...]” (internal evidence), 2) “[...] revelations about how or why the poet wrote the poem [...]” (external evidence), or 3) it can be derived from “[...] an intermediate kind of evidence about the character of the author.”¹¹⁹ In addition, and of particular importance for the present study, they criticize how “allusiveness” in T. S. Eliot’s poetry has given rise to false judgements of intentional fallacy, as if the reader must trace the supposed allusions in order to interpret the full meaning of the poem.¹²⁰ Rather, they assert that “Eliot’s allusions work when we know them—and to a great extent even when do not know them, through their suggestive power.”¹²¹ Wimsatt and Beardsley further discuss how the explanatory notes which Eliot tends to add to his poems may either guide the reader to identify the allusions or—intentionally—misguide him or her; thus, the notes should be considered merely as a part of the poetical work rather than comments added by the historical author.¹²²

Returning, then, to the question of how a scholar engaged in historical research might justifiably claim that a given historical author had intended a textual reference, the matter is discussed in scholarship at length, and I provide a brief summary of that

¹¹⁷ Wimsatt and Beardsley (1954) 1967, 11.

¹¹⁸ Hays 1989, 201 n. 90, referring to Wimsatt and Beardsley (1954) 1967, 3. Following their critique, the focus of literary theorists shifted to the text, eventually leading to the critique of poststructuralists, according to whom interpretation happens in dialogue with the text and the reader, that is, the text cannot exist without its reader. In my opinion, this criticism is relevant also when considering the study of Paul’s letters.

¹¹⁹ Wimsatt and Beardsley (1954) 1967, 10.

¹²⁰ Wimsatt and Beardsley (1954) 1967, 14.

¹²¹ Wimsatt and Beardsley (1954) 1967, 15.

¹²² Wimsatt and Beardsley (1954) 1967, 14–17.

discussion below. Additionally, in the case that a subtle textual reference cannot be proven to be intentional, I discuss in section 1.3.3 what kind of analysis can be done based on such an observation. In the following section, I describe the criteria I use in this study to identify textual and thematic connections between the psalms and Paul's writing and how these connections vary.

1.3.2. Quotation Defined

There is no consensus over what is meant by quotation, and the terms "quotation" and "citation" tend to be used interchangeably.¹²³ The definitions for quotation in the above-mentioned studies by Koch and Stanley, which have greatly influenced subsequent studies on the subject, provide a useful point of departure.

Koch argues that a passage may be seen as a quotation if some of seven aspects are present: 1) when it is introduced by a quotation formula, 2) when the assumed quotation has been more clearly quoted in a nearby context, 3) when the author adds an interpretive comment and explicates that the interpretation concerns the assumed quotation, 4) when the words in question do not fit their context syntactically, so that it is apparent that they were not originally designed in the same context, 5) when the assumed quotation stands out in stylistic manner from its context, 6) when the author marks the words with a particle such as *μενοῦγε*, *ὅτι*, *ἀλλά*, *γάρ*, or *δέ*, and 7) when the author uses an utterance or a clause from a tradition shared by the author and the audience.¹²⁴

Stanley criticizes the broad scope of Koch's criteria. Starting with the last aspect, he challenges the high level of literary competence that this definition would require of the audience: "whether Paul's Gentile readers would have understood even some of his more explicit biblical quotations is at least open to question."¹²⁵ Furthermore, Koch's fifth criterion, regarding stylistic distinctiveness from the context, is problematic for Stanley, since the audience of Paul's letters could have mistaken one of Paul's quotations as a Pauline formulation.¹²⁶ The same criticism

¹²³ Thus, e.g., Stanley 1992, 3. In the present study, I prefer using the term "quotation" consistently.

¹²⁴ Koch 1986, 13–15.

¹²⁵ Stanley 1992, 35.

¹²⁶ Stanley 1992, 36.

applies to the sixth criterion—namely, quotations marked with such introductory particles as *μενοῦγε*, *ὅτι*, *ἀλλά*, *γάρ*, or *δέ*.¹²⁷ In contrast to Koch’s seven criteria, Stanley gives three criteria for identifying a quotation in Paul’s letters: 1) introduction by an explicit quotation formula, 2) accompaniment by a clear interpretive gloss, and 3) standing in “demonstrable syntactical tension with their present Pauline surrounding [...]”.¹²⁸

I will apply Stanley’s definition of quotation to my data, further distinguishing between 1) *explicit quotations*, which are marked with a quotation formula, and 2) *implicit quotations*, which are verbatim¹²⁹ renderings (leaving room for possible slight changes in the wording) of an anterior text without a quotation formula or some other kind of explicit marker denoting quotation.¹³⁰ In addition to examining explicit and implicit quotations, I will also evaluate subtle references to the psalms according to the criteria outlined in the next sub-section.

The term “quotation” also tends to overlap with the related term “allusion.” Julie Hughes, who has studied scriptural allusions in the *Hodayot* texts of Qumran, differentiates “allusion” as the indirect use of a text from quotation as the direct use of a text.¹³¹ She further defines quotation as “a phrase which is marked, explicitly or implicitly, as referring to the words of a speaker who is not the implied speaker of the composition.”¹³² Thus, Hughes also includes in her category of quotations those passages which are marked implicitly, for instance, by using emphatic particles.

As for explicit quotations, Paul usually introduces a quotation with the formula “(as) it is written” or something similar prior to his use of the source text.¹³³ In some

¹²⁷ Stanley 1992, 36.

¹²⁸ Stanley 1992, 37.

¹²⁹ Some scholars have pointed out that requiring verbatim parallelism is anachronistic when applied to ancient texts: if one assumes that a quotation has been cited verbatim, this definition becomes problematic for discussing ancient textual transmission, for which lexical and morpho-syntactic variation between copies is characteristic. See Stanley 1997, 24–25; Hughes 2006, 43. Cf. also Pajunen 2013, 41–42; Hartog 2017, 153 n. 59. However, all these scholars argue that a formulaic introduction is not a requirement of quotation.

¹³⁰ Thus classified, e.g., in Waaler 2008, 37. See also Lange and Weigold 2011, 15–48, esp. 26–27; Hughes 2006, 44.

¹³¹ Hughes 2006, 42.

¹³² Hughes 2006, 44.

¹³³ The citation formula *γέγραπται* commonly appears in Jewish literature as a calque for Hebrew *כתוב*. Paul uses *γράφω* 34 times in his quotation formulae, *γέγραπται* 29 times, *καθώς γέγραπται* (*ὅτι*)

cases of his quotation formula, he also specifies to which composition he refers. For instance, when referring to the Prophets, Paul writes, “Isaiah says” (Rom 10:16), “Isaiah has said beforehand” (Rom 9:29), “Isaiah shouts” (Rom 9:27), “in the [book of] Hosea [it] says” (Rom 9:25), and, quite similarly, “do you not know what the scripture says of Elijah” (Rom 11:2), introducing a quotation from 1 Kgs 19:10, 14. Concerning the Pentateuch, Paul occasionally uses the formula “Moses says” (Rom 10:19), and, concerning the psalms, Paul twice refers to David explicitly: “so also David says [...]” (καθάπερ καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει, Rom 4:6); “and David says” (καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει, Rom 11:9).¹³⁴

Applying the definition of quotation by Koch and Stanley, the four scriptural books Paul quotes explicitly and most frequently are Isaiah (28 times), Psalms (19 times), Genesis (15 times), and Deuteronomy (15 times). The letter to the Romans contains 11 explicit quotations and 4 implicit quotations without quotation formulae from the now-canonical Psalms¹³⁵—four such quotations occur in 1 Corinthians¹³⁶ and two in 2 Corinthians.¹³⁷

The most extensive cluster of quotations from psalms under examination in this study is to be found in Romans 3:10–18, a passage in which Paul uses a catena composed of explicit quotations from five different psalms (Pss 5:10; 9:28 [MT 10:7];

18 times, γέγραπται (γάρ) 6 times, and the verb λέγω 19 times. Further on this issue, see, e.g., Koch 1986, 25–30.

¹³⁴ Rom 4:6, referring to Ps 31(32); 11:9, referring to Ps 68(69). Ps 32 (MT) includes the Hebrew superscript מִשְׁכִּיל לְדָוִד, translated in Greek Ps 31 (LXX) as τῷ Δαυὶδ συνέσεως; Ps 69 (MT) features the Hebrew superscript לְמַנְצָה עַל־יְשׁוּעִים לְדָוִד, translated in Ps 68 (LXX) as εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων τῷ Δαυὶδ. In Rom. 11:9, David’s name is used prior to the quotation, whereas the quotation formula καθὼς γέγραπται introduces a quotation from Deut 29:3 and Isa 19:10 in the preceding verse. Apart from the superscripts, David is mentioned in only six different psalms (Pss 18:50; 78:70; 89:3, 20, 35, 49; 125:5; 132:10, 11, 17; 144:10). Lim (2013, 12) observes that, even though his introductory formulae vary, Paul never employs an introductory formula when citing an extrascriptural axiom or saying (e.g., 1 Cor 15:33).

¹³⁵ Rom 3:4 (Ps 50[51]:6), 10–12 (Ps 13[14]:1–3), 13 (Ps 5:10), 14 (Ps 139[140]:4), 18 (Ps 35[36]:2); 4:7–8 (Ps 31[32]:1); 8:36 (Ps 43[44]:23); 11:9–10 (Ps 68[69]:23–24); 15:3 (Ps 68[69]:10), 9 (Ps 17[18]:50); 15:11 (Ps 116:1 [117:1]). Direct quotations without a quotation formula: Rom 2:6 (Ps 61:13[62:12]); Rom 3:4 (Ps 115:2[116:11]); Rom 10:18 (Ps 18[19]:5); Rom 11:2 (Ps 93[94]:14).

¹³⁶ 1 Cor 3:20 (Ps 93[94]:11); 10:26 (Ps 23[24]:1); 15:25 (Ps 109[110]:1), 27 (Ps 8:7).

¹³⁷ 2 Cor 4:13 (Ps 115:1 [116:10]); 9:9 (Ps 111[112]:9).

13[14]:1–3; 35[36]:2; 139[140]:4) and from Isaiah 59:7–8. This catena is introduced by the quotation formula *καθὼς γέγραπται* “as it is written.”

Furthermore, I investigate a selection of quotations from the psalms that are either paired together or paired with another LXX text, as well as individual quotations from the psalms. One of the quotation pairs from the psalms studied here is interesting due to its combination of an implicit quotation marker and a marked quotation formula. In Rom 3:4, Paul first inserts the particle *δέ* into a quotation of LXX Ps 115:2 (*ἐγὼ εἶπα ἐν τῇ ἐκστάσει μου*), *πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης*. This is directly followed by the explicit quotation formula “as it is written” (*καθὼς γέγραπται*), introducing a quotation of Ps 50(51):6. Why does Paul not introduce both quotations with an explicit quotation formula? One possibility, as some scholars have suggested, could have been to make the verbatim rendering of Ps 115:2 seem like it was not an intentional quotation. Nevertheless, the matching of three words with the wording of the psalm and the addition of the emphatic particle *δέ* cannot be a mere coincidence. Thus, I will treat this phrase as an implicit quotation, and I will discuss the pair Pss 50(51) and 115 (LXX) further in section 7.2.

Another instance where Paul combines two quotations from psalms is 1 Corinthians 15:25 and 27, where Paul uses psalms in a proof-text manner for Christological argumentation. Here, the quotations from the psalms are also only implicitly marked: the first implicit quotation comes from Ps 109(110):1 ([...] *εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου*; Ps 109:1 LXX), a popular psalm among the New Testament writers.¹³⁸ This is transformed by Paul into the following: *δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρι οὗ θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ*, “for he must reign until **he has put all his enemies under his feet**” (1 Cor 15:25 NRSV; modifications by Paul marked in bold). The implicit marker of the quotation is the underlined particle *γὰρ*. Likewise, in the latter quotation from psalms in v. 27, the particle *γάρ* functions as an implicit marker, with the additional explicit interpretative word (*ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ*, “(when) he/it says,” following the quotation. This quotation comes from Ps 8:7, which is lexically similar

¹³⁸ V. 1 is quoted also in Matt 22:44; Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42; Acts 2:34; for allusions to v. 1, see, e.g., Matt 26:64; Mark 14:62.

to Ps 109(110): [...] πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ (Ps 8:7 LXX). The context and the peculiar combination of the two psalms are analyzed in section 7.2 of the present study.

Aside from such explicit quotations, Paul refers more subtly to psalms in roughly 60 instances scattered throughout the genuine Pauline letters, with the exception of Philemon.¹³⁹ In all, Romans and 1 Corinthians contain the majority of both the subtle references to (48 instances) and the explicit (19 instances) and implicit (7 instances) quotations of the psalms. The definition for subtle references will be discussed in the next sub-section. Not only will I provide a set of criteria for identifying such textual connections, but I will also elaborate on the terms used to describe the different functions of these textual connections in Paul's text.

1.3.3. Subtle Links between the Texts and a Discussion on Terms and Methodology

References not indicated by a quotation formula or cited verbatim prove to be problematic for analysis. First, such indirect references have been classified very differently, with no common terminology existing in biblical studies to describe different aspects of textual interplay. Second, lexical links aside, the identifiable entity that a reader recognizes as a link to another text is itself diverse in nature, ranging from the thematic to the stylistic, and can even simply refer to a certain character, name, or event.

The most popular terms used to denote these subtle references are “intertextuality,” “echo,” and “allusion,” any of which has been used to describe a spectrum of different types of textual (or metatextual) links. In this section, I briefly discuss a broad range of terms that have been used to indicate both textual connections and shared traditions between different texts. Interestingly, scholars of the Hebrew Bible, early Judaisms, and early rabbinic literature on the one hand and New Testament scholars on the other tend to use their own terminology to describe similar ideas. This diversity of terms is also due to the broad range of phenomena the scholars deal with: whereas one scholar might characterize the *technique* by which the different texts and

¹³⁹ This figure is based on Nestle-Aland's²⁸ marginal notes, literature reviews, and my own parallel reading of Paul and the Psalms.

traditions have become embedded (e.g., midrash), another scholar might focus on the *author* or *compiler* of a new composition (allusion, quotation)—or on *the new composition* itself (rewritten scriptural text).¹⁴⁰ In other words, while one ancient writer might have used sporadic citations in his or her literary work, another might have rewritten the composition entirely anew. Thus, variation takes place both in the execution of textual links and in their later categorization by scholars. My aim is to evaluate the use of the terms in scholarship, characterize their differences, and justify the terminology that I use in this study to describe Paul’s quotation practice as well as the subtle uses of written sources and oral tradition in his letters.

Allusion

Allusion is the term with perhaps the widest currency in biblical studies. It has a long history of study, starting from ancient literature, and has thus been used to denote a range of textual connections.¹⁴¹ Stanley E. Porter has borrowed the definition of “allusion” from literary studies,¹⁴² describing the term as indirect (as opposed to explicit quotations) yet intentional on the part of the author towards the reader.¹⁴³ In his monograph on allusions, particularly in the field of literary studies, Allan Pasco locates “allusion” under the larger term “intertextuality,” distinguishing between three

¹⁴⁰ Geza Vermes coined the term “rewritten Bible” in his 1961 study. The term has subsequently been discussed and elaborated on by many Second Temple period scholars. For instance, Moshe Bernstein (2013a, 40) points out that, when Vermes established the term “rewritten Bible” in 1961, he did not include much of the material found in the Judean Desert. Later, the term was especially favored by Qumran scholars. George Brooke (2002) has modified the term to “rewritten scriptural text,” as the term “Bible” bears anachronistic connotations, since the HB canon was not yet established before the latter half of the first century CE. As for the Pauline corpus, “rewritten scriptural text” is not a suitable term, since scriptural passages, themes, and narratives are embedded into Paul’s letters, and his aim is not to rework or actualize the scriptural text but to persuade his recipient. Actualization of the text is, at any rate, one motivation to quote from and refer to scripture but not for writing the letters themselves.

¹⁴¹ Cf., e.g., Perri 1979, 178–215. For a survey of how ‘allusion’ has been understood throughout the history of literature, see Juvan 2008, 28–30.

¹⁴² Porter (2008a, 31) refers to Holman (1986, 12), a dictionary of terms used in literary criticism that consequently provides only a short description of what is meant by allusion. Cf. also Perri (1979, 178–215) who defines allusion within the framework of literary studies as referring simultaneously to a minimum of two different texts. According to her, compared to echoes or influence, allusion is one of the more sophisticated devices used to refer to another text.

¹⁴³ Porter 2008a, 31.

different types of intertextuality: imitation, opposition, and allusion. For Pasco, “in allusion, different texts—both the one in hand and those that are external—are integrated metaphorically into something new.”¹⁴⁴ What Pasco describes as “imitation” could be used to denote that which has often been called “allusion” in Pauline studies,—that is, the author fits “his text into a tradition and willingly attempt[s] to use its means—whether styles, forms, lexicon, or devices—and its values to echo previous success.”¹⁴⁵ In my view, Paul’s allusions make use of both such types of textual interplay—i.e., imitating scriptural elements to “echo previous success” and inserting the alluded text into a new context and meaning.

In this study, “allusion” refers to any locus in Paul’s text that agrees with another texts in a way that is 1) lexical, 2) thematic, or 3) a combination of the two.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, as a characteristic of Paul’s writings, allusions can refer simultaneously to many different sources. For instance, in 1 Corinthians 10, Paul alludes to the wilderness tradition of Israel’s history, an allusion that can refer to many different instances in the scriptures. What has sometimes been neglected in research history, nevertheless, is that Paul’s way of alluding to texts varies widely from one passage to next.

Echo

The term “echo” has recently become popular among New Testament scholars, especially following Hays’s study.¹⁴⁷ “Echo” refers to many kinds of phenomena, and Hays himself sometimes even used the term “subtle echo”¹⁴⁸ interchangeably with “verbatim citation,”¹⁴⁹ for instance in describing how, in Phil 1:19, Paul might have been hinting at Job 13:16 (LXX), though this reference is so weak that a reader might easily miss it. Though Hays uses this instance as an example of “subtle echo,” he emphasizes that he does “not intend to spend hermeneutical energy pursuing such faint

¹⁴⁴ Pasco 1994, 5.

¹⁴⁵ Pasco 1994, 5.

¹⁴⁶ These criteria are my own modifications from the categorizations of previous studies.

¹⁴⁷ Hays 1989.

¹⁴⁸ Hays 1989, 22.

¹⁴⁹ Hays. 1989, 21.

echoes” in his study.¹⁵⁰ While Hays does not here provide definitions for his terminology—on the contrary, he uses the terms “echo” and “allusion” interchangeably¹⁵¹—his study has nevertheless made an enormous impact on New Testament scholarship regarding Paul’s scriptural references. Therefore, it is necessary for me to clarify my own position with regard to (or in dialogue with) Hays’s methodology.

The influence of Hays’s study is demonstrated in studies that follow after his footsteps, the authors of which style their works as “Haysian”¹⁵² or “post-Echoes” projects.¹⁵³ Matthew Scott, who explicitly states his indebtedness to Hays’s study, describes echo “as a kind of intertextual meaning effect, independent of authorial intent, anchored more by the competence of readers.”¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, he continues to say that an echo is ambivalent in relation to its author since “as an act of figuration it implies [...] an author, [...] yet as an effect it does not.”¹⁵⁵ This ambivalence, as noted by Scott, can already be seen in Hays’s use of the term. The vagueness of Hays’s term has either been refined, substituted for another, or repeated as such. Due to the unsystematic use of the term in scholarship, I find it too fluid and polysemous to be used in this study.

Hays’s Criteria for Identifying Echoes and Allusions

According to Hays’s understanding of echoes and allusions, textual connection can be “located” in 1) Paul’s mind, 2) the original reader’s mind, 3) the text itself, 4) the act of reading (the reader’s mind), or 5) the community of interpretation.¹⁵⁶ This classification is based on the threefold division of author (Paul), text, and reader,

¹⁵⁰ Hays 1989, 24.

¹⁵¹ Hays (1989, 29) confesses that, since there are difficulties in deciding how to classify different types of references, he uses terminology flexibly. He does not make any systematic distinction between the terms he uses, though “in general [...] allusion is used of obvious intertextual references, echo of subtler ones.” Hays’s definitions of the term “echo” has been criticized by Porter (2008a).

¹⁵² Scott 2014, 7, 18, and throughout his study.

¹⁵³ Scott 2014, 1–3, 8.

¹⁵⁴ Scott 2014, 11.

¹⁵⁵ Scott 2014, 12.

¹⁵⁶ Hays 1989, 26.

which originates from a 20th-century debate in the field of literary theory.¹⁵⁷ These borders are naturally artificial, even naïve from the perspective of reader-response theory, which sees the meaning of any text as shaped by the interaction of text and reader and, thus, the textual connections as located in the act of reading, not in the text itself or in the author's mind.¹⁵⁸ Although this criticism is justified from the perspective of literary studies, I argue that questions concerning authorship are relevant for a historically-oriented reader. In other words, for Pauline scholars, Paul as an author is not dead (as the author is for post-Barthian readers).¹⁵⁹ Indeed, as Hays also points out,¹⁶⁰ the chief difference between literary perspectives, particularly the postmodern view, and historically-oriented biblical studies is that the former questions (and ignores) authorial judgement about the interpretation and *value* of the text and thus concerns aesthetics, whereas the latter approach limits its focus to the available historical sources.¹⁶¹ Since the aim of postmodern approaches is not historical skepticism, Hays seems to concede that concepts and terms originating from postmodern discussion might be useful to historical endeavors.¹⁶²

Hays lists seven criteria for identifying an intertextual echo (to use his terminology).¹⁶³ His first criterion is *availability*, the minimum criterion for intentionality; namely, the potentially cited text should have been available to Paul.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁷ However, Hays's criteria do not fit the poststructuralist narratological notion of the communication model "author-text-reader," which rather emphasizes the reader's centrality in dictating the meaning of a text. For the concept of author, see the discussion of authorial intent above on pp. 25–26 in this study.

¹⁵⁸ See, e.g., Iser (1984, 107); Tompkins (1980) 1992. For their part, The Bible and Culture Collective (1995, 4) state that they seek to describe what readers can know and how they can know it (structuralism and poststructuralism), how a reader as a subject of knowledge is shaped (reader-response, rhetorical, and psychoanalytic criticism), and who benefits from what the reader can claim to know (ideological and feminist criticism).

¹⁵⁹ Barthes (1984) 1993.

¹⁶⁰ Hays 1989, 201, n. 90.

¹⁶¹ On the other hand, Tompkins ([1980] 1992, ix) describes the task of reader-response criticism as detecting the author's attitudes toward their readers. However, reader-response criticism "destroys" the objectivity of the text.

¹⁶² Hays 1989, 201, n. 90. Aichele et al. (2009, 384) emphasize that "[p]ostmodernism does not reject the need for rigor in the analysis of actual texts, but it does call for the acknowledgment of one's approach, including its underlying assumptions and its goals and limitations."

¹⁶³ Hays 1989, 29.

¹⁶⁴ Hays 1989, 29–30.

With regard to this criterion, the psalms that Paul cites explicitly allow us to conclude that he had access at least to those passages of psalms. Whether Paul's collection of psalms comprised psalms not included in the later MT 150-Psalter or the LXX 151-Psalter, or whether his collection was even similar to these collections, we have no direct way of knowing. Furthermore, since we know that the collection of 150 psalms in the Masoretic psalter only took on its final shape in the latter half of the first century CE (and, similarly, we do not have manuscript evidence for an entire LXX 151-Psalter that antedates Paul), we cannot know whether the book of psalms had taken on its final form by the time of Paul's writing activity. It is problematic, therefore, to try to determine what the exact wording of a psalm alluded to was, that is, we do not know if Paul's wording, when it deviates from the manuscripts, preserves a different *Vorlage* that was Paul's source of the psalms when he read them or if Paul modified the text himself. For his part, Hays does not seem to question the content of scripture during Paul's time since he writes:

In the case of Paul's use of Scripture, we rarely have to worry about this problem. His practice of citation shows that he was acquainted with virtually the whole body of texts that were later acknowledged as canonical within Judaism, and that he expected his readers to share his acknowledgement of these texts as Scripture.¹⁶⁵

The psalms, however, raise another kind of question as to the usefulness of this criterion, since it cannot be taken for granted that Paul's explicit use of one particular psalm would mean that he therefore had access to *the final collection* of psalms (namely, the one known as 151 Psalms LXX-Psalter or 150 Psalms MT-Psalter), though there is at least a scholarly consensus that the Greek translation of psalms took place in the second century BCE and that its sequence of psalms agreed with that of the Masoretic psalter (except for the additional psalm [151] in LXX). The issue of the evidence of different collections of psalms as well as the indirect evidence of their use is discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation.

The second criterion Hays lists is *volume*—i.e., “the degree of explicit repetition of words or syntactical patterns [...]”¹⁶⁶ Hays adds that, in some cases, even when

¹⁶⁵ Hays 1989, 29–30, referring to Koch 1986, 32–48.

¹⁶⁶ Hays 1989, 30.

only two words are “echoed,” this can be understood as “an allusion.”¹⁶⁷ To this criterion can also be added the frequency of (lexical or thematic) references to the same source, which may increase the credibility of a reference. For instance, in my study (chs. 6–7), one application of this criterion is to identify clusters of allusions to psalms in the same Pauline passage.

The third criterion (*recurrence*) deals with the frequency or reiteration of the reference: if Paul explicitly quotes the same text in some other instance within the same letter, it renders the subtle reference to the given text more recognizable.¹⁶⁸ This criterion comes close to the previous one but further asks whether Paul quotes or alludes to the same scriptural passage elsewhere, whereas the criterion of *volume* asks whether the same source text occurs in the same Pauline passage.

The fourth criterion concerns context, what Hays calls *thematic coherence*, or “how well [...] the alleged echo [fits] into the line of argument that Paul is developing.”¹⁶⁹ I find this criterion rather problematic, since Paul often changes the meaning of the literary context, albeit more so in the case of explicit references than of non-explicit ones.¹⁷⁰

The fifth criterion, *historical plausibility*, requires a comparison of the so-called implied reader with historical evidence, though Hays himself does not describe the criterion with these words. That is, one must ask whether Paul’s reader would have

¹⁶⁷ Hays 1989, 30. This is an illustrative example of the interchangeability of the terms “echo” and “allusion” in Hays, which can be the source of some confusion: “[f]or example, 2 Cor. 4:6 should be understood as an allusion to Gen. 1:3–5, even though it echoes explicitly only two words *lights* and *darkness*” (30, emphasis his). Previous research has rightly noted that Hays emphasizes lexical clues rather than narrative structures or themes when identifying references. Cf., Waaler 2008, 41, who considers narrative structures and themes when evaluating links between texts.

¹⁶⁸ Hays 1989, 30.

¹⁶⁹ Hays 1989, 30.

¹⁷⁰ For an analysis of Paul’s explicit quotations in Romans and the relationship between the Pauline context and the literary context of the source text, see Kujanpää 2019. According to Shum (2002, 9), “[...] this criterion is the most important and helpful one among Hays’s seven criteria, for both identifying and testing allusions/echoes. [...] However, we should bear in mind that, considering the fact that an earlier text may sometimes be used out of context, the lack of thematic coherence or contextual continuity between the original and the new contexts cannot be taken to discount the possibility of an alleged allusive relationship, if other evidence for that relationship is strong. On the contrary, contextual discontinuity might expose the nature of an allusive relationship.”

understood the reference.¹⁷¹ In my view, the problem with this criterion is that it fuses historical speculation (“could Paul have intended it?”) and a textual phenomenon (“could his readers have understood it?”), both of which can be understood either as merely textual phenomena as the implied author and reader of the text,¹⁷² or as historical characters. However, neither the first question of Paul’s intent nor the second question of his readers’s capacity are attainable as a historical plausibility.¹⁷³

The sixth criterion is *history of interpretation*, which concerns the whole reception and interpretation history of Paul’s letters. If “[...] both the critical and pre-critical predecessors [...] heard the same echo”¹⁷⁴ suggested by a modern reader who perceives a link to an anterior text in a certain Pauline passage, this may help corroborate the link as a scriptural echo in Paul. Hays admits that this criterion is problematic since the early commentators had their own programmatic tendencies of reading Paul’s letters, disconnected from the Septuagint.¹⁷⁵ In my view, the history of interpreting Paul’s use of scripture is beneficial, for instance, for reception-historical study, but since my aim here is not to describe the trajectory of the understanding of Paul’s psalm references in early Christian writers, I will not employ this criterion.

The seventh criterion, *satisfaction*, asks whether the suggested reading of Paul makes sense with or without confirmation—that is, “[d]oes it produce for the reader a satisfying account of the effect of the intertextual relation?”¹⁷⁶ In a sense, this is what every interpreter, modern and ancient alike, inherently asks when suggesting a textual link, and their answers are always positive. Hence, I find it misleading to label this aspect as a “criterion.”

Hays admits that these criteria offer only “shades of certainty” in determining references to anterior texts. Nevertheless, he sees them as cumulative—i.e., the more

¹⁷¹ Hays 1989, 30–31. Hays asks, “Could Paul have intended the alleged meaning effect? Could his readers have understood it? (We should always bear in mind, of course, that Paul might have written things that were not readily intelligible to his actual readers.) This test, historical in character, necessarily required hypothetical constructs of what might have been intended and grasped by particular first-century figures. [...]” (30).

¹⁷² Cf. n. 112 above.

¹⁷³ Hays (1989, 30) himself notes that this criterion is “historical in character.”

¹⁷⁴ Hays 1989, 31.

¹⁷⁵ Hays 1989, 31.

¹⁷⁶ Hays 1989, 31.

criteria that can be fulfilled, the more plausible the suggested reading is.¹⁷⁷ However, the cumulative effects of Hays's criteria has been rightly criticized by those who argue that two or more weak textual connections do not necessarily make a strong connection.¹⁷⁸ I find that the criteria of *availability*, *volume*, and *recurrence* are productive, though not without reservations, for my study. Instead, the last three criteria of *historical plausibility*, *history of interpretation*, and *satisfaction* are not used in my study due to their limits for the task described above.

Midrash

This term “midrash” is sometimes connected to the phenomenon of textual links to scripture. Compared to the terms allusion or echo, midrash defines an entire genre rather than an individual device. Furthermore, as a didactic genre, midrash constitutes a reinterpretation and extension of the text to which it is connected. In addition, it is important to note that the term does not refer to a particular *method* of scriptural interpretation, as distinguished from *peshet*. For *pesharim*, it is characteristic that the interpretation follows the scriptural verse, whereas midrash re-narrates the scriptural text.¹⁷⁹

According to the description by Geza Vermes, “homiletical midrash [...] is only loosely connected to the Bible, and bears the teacher's, or preacher's, own individual stamp.”¹⁸⁰ As noted by Hermann Strack and Günter Stemberger, midrash cannot be

¹⁷⁷ Hays 1989, 32.

¹⁷⁸ Cf., e.g., Scott 2014, 4.

¹⁷⁹ Strack and Stemberger 1996, 235. I will discuss *pesharim* in further detail in sec. 3.2.1 in this study. See also Stahlberg Cushing (2008, 12) noting that “[m]idrash is the ancient mode of bridging the gap between the world of the text and the community that received the text; it is text and commentary, both authority and tradition together.”

¹⁸⁰ Vermes 1961, 2. Vermes is dependent on Bloch (1954, 9–34), who defines the term midrash as follows: “1) Its point of departure is Scripture; it is a reflection or meditation on the Bible. 2) It is homiletical, and largely originates from the liturgical reading of the Torah. The Palestinian Targum probably reflects the synagogal homilies which followed the reading of the Bible. 3) [...] Every effort is made to explain the Bible by the Bible [...]. 4) The biblical message is adapted to suit contemporary needs. [...]” (cited in Vermes 1961, 7).

precisely defined but only described.¹⁸¹ The noun “midrash” is used in two instances in the Hebrew Bible: 2 Chronicles 13:22 (“the rest of the acts of Abijah, his behavior, and his deeds, are written in the story [מִדְרָשׁ] of the prophet Iddo,” NRSV); 24:27 (“[...] written in the Commentary [מִדְרָשׁ] on the Book of the Kings,” [...]. NRSV). Nevertheless, the precise meaning of the word in these instances is unclear, as can be seen from the LXX translations, which renders the word as “book” (βιβλίον) in one place and “writing” (γραφή) in the other.¹⁸²

Hays notes that previous Pauline scholarship has identified varying aspects of midrash in Paul’s exegesis, which can be divided into three groups: 1) *Midrash as a form-critical “map,”*¹⁸³ where “formal parallels between Paul’s interpretations and the structural patterns of rabbinic midrash are to be found only at high levels of generality [...]”;¹⁸⁴ 2) *Midrash as a hermeneutical method*, when Paul’s way of interpreting scriptures is reduced to specific hermeneutical rules, such as the seven middoth of Hillel;¹⁸⁵ 3) *Midrash as interpretive license*: “[t]he term midrash can serve as a convenient cover for a multitude of exegetical sins.”¹⁸⁶ The last group refers to the manner in which nearly every interpretive activity of Paul can be misleadingly labelled as “midrashic” by the modern scholars.

With regard to midrash as a hermeneutical method, even if the earliest rabbinic texts were compiled after 200 CE, it is possible that the method of midrash itself

¹⁸¹ Strack and Stemberger 1996, 235. The verb *darash* means “to seek; to ask.” In the Hebrew Bible (Deut 11:12; 22:2; Jer 30:14; Job 3:4; esp. Gen 25:22; Exod 18:5), it is used in the context of seeking answers from God or consulting an oracle (Strack and Stemberger 1996, 234).

¹⁸² According to Mandel (2006, 26) the meaning of *midrash* in 2 Chronicles “[...] is none other than ‘exposition, teaching,’ especially the exposition of a prophet.”

¹⁸³ The names of the categories here, indicated in italics, come from Hays 1989, 11, and are slightly modified.

¹⁸⁴ Hays 1989, 12.

¹⁸⁵ However, the list of Hillel is first attested in written form in t. Sanh., dated to the late second century or third CE, and is thus later than Paul. The methods in Hillel’s list are: “1) *kal wahomer* (from the lesser to the greater); 2) *gēzērāh šāwāh* (argument by analogy); 3) *banyan av mikatuv ehad* (law deduced from common feature in one Scripture); 4) *banyan av mishenei Ketuvim* (law deduced from common feature in two Scriptures); 5) *kelal uferat* (from the general to the particular); 6) *kayotse bo mimakom aher* (same interpretation applies to another place); 7) *davar ha-lamed meinyano* (meaning of a statement may be deduced from its context).” Baron and Oropeza 2016, 65–66, referring to, inter alia, Strack and Stemberger 1996. Cf. t. Sanh. 7.11.; ’Abot A 37; Sipra 3a.

¹⁸⁶ Hays 1989, 13.

originated earlier.¹⁸⁷ Lori Baron and B. J. Oropeza argue that, since the method, for instance, of *gēzērāh šāwāh* (lit. “equal decision,” [גְּזֵרָה שְׁוָיָה]—one rule on Hillel’s list—is described in a more restricted manner in later rabbinic sources,¹⁸⁸ this shows that the method had probably been used in a looser way. Hence, it is likewise plausible that the interpretive methods were used more flexibly at the time of the New Testament writers.

In 1 Cor 10:1–10, Paul’s interpretive technique is similar to what would later come to be known as rabbinic midrash.¹⁸⁹ Even if a few New Testament scholars have labeled Pauline hermeneutical practice as midrash,¹⁹⁰ the majority of scholars has avoided using this anachronistic term. Hence, I describe Paul’s exegetical method as midrashic and compare it to that of later rabbinic texts with caution.

Metalepsis

The aspect that in some cases covers a whole spectrum of explicit and subtle textual links has been labelled the “metaleptical” poetic effect.¹⁹¹ According to Hays’s recent study,

[m]etalepsis is a literary technique of citing or echoing a small bit of a precursor text in such a way that the reader can grasp the significance of the echo only by recalling or recovering the original context from which the fragmentary echo came and then reading the two texts in dialogical juxtaposition.¹⁹²

I would add to this definition that marked and unmarked connections to prior texts or traditions serve different functions. When Paul makes subtle references to scripture, they more often invoke the original scriptural context, inviting Paul’s audience to identify thematic links between a contemporaneous situation (i.e., in the first century CE in Rome and Corinth) and scriptural narrative, language, theology, or characters.

¹⁸⁷ Baron and Oropeza 2016, 68.

¹⁸⁸ Baron and Oropeza 2016, 68. Cf. b. Pesah. 66a; Nid. 19b.

¹⁸⁹ See further the discussion in ch. 6. Cf. Meeks 1982.

¹⁹⁰ Meeks 1982. Cf. Hays 1989, 197, n. 31.

¹⁹¹ Originally introduced to biblical studies in Hays 1989.

¹⁹² Hays 2016, 11.

According to my classification, 17 of the 19 instances I identify as subtle references carry also a metaleptical link to the original literary context of the referenced text.¹⁹³ By contrast, in most cases, Paul uses explicit quotations in such a way that if his audience would have recognized the original textual context of the cited text, Paul's argument would not have made good sense. For instance, the catena in Romans 3:10–18 reveals that the quotes in this Pauline context are used to serve as evidence for universal sinfulness, a complete departure from the original textual context of the psalms.¹⁹⁴ The quoted psalms contrast the psalmist with the wicked, who Paul ascribes pejoratively to the whole of humankind. Still, the form of the textual link does not always determine whether the metaleptical effect is present in the quotation.

1.4. Definition of the Task and the Technical Terms Used in this Study

In this section, I define the terms I use in this study, taking into consideration the discussion above on both previous research on Paul's use of psalms and the use of terms borrowed from other fields. In addition, I define and describe the primary sources of this study.

1.4.1. *Psalm Quotations and Allusions in Clusters, Pairs and Individual occurrences*

Above, I have defined the criteria used here to identify *explicitly marked quotations*. In addition, there are formulations without any explicit marker in Paul's letters that can be identified as quotations, though the precise definition of these cases is very much disputed among scholars since they might otherwise be labelled, for instance, as "allusions." Nevertheless, when the criteria for a quotation other than an explicitly marked one are fulfilled, I will classify it as an *implicit quotation* following the terminology used in previous studies.¹⁹⁵ By both of these terms, I refer to the conscious

¹⁹³ See further chs. 6–7. For a table of these passages, see Appendix 1.

¹⁹⁴ On this passage, see further ch. 4.

¹⁹⁵ E.g., Lange and Weigold 2011, 26–27.

authorial activity on the part of Paul—i.e., I refer to Paul’s deliberate use of an anterior source text, whether from memory or from a written source, as discussed above.

In relation to subtle references, I will use *allusion* as an umbrella term, and when I detect *textual dependence*, I will speak about *textual connections* or *textual interplay* in a diachronic sense to describe the scale of a given allusive link in each case. On the other hand, when one seeks to identify less explicit links (e.g., lexical, thematic, narratological) between the texts, one cannot use the term “text” in a strict manner to refer to written documents and dependence therebetween. If one seeks to detect the less explicit links, the term “textual connection” can be misleading; thus, scholars have more often used general terms, such as (shared) tradition.¹⁹⁶ In this study, I will either refer to these kinds of links as *thematic connections* (when a certain theme is shared) or address the *shared vocabulary* (when the connection is lexical) of a set of passages. As a separate issue, these cases may or may not be indicative of authorial intent. Furthermore, oral transmission versus literary transmission also plays a role in this discussion. The oral aspect of the transmission process is important for my study even when no documented (i.e., textual) evidence of the impact of oral transmission is preserved. Traces of oral transmission can nevertheless be detected by scholarly investigation—for instance, in cases where Paul uses exegetical methods or other interpretative strategies similar to those used by his contemporaries, despite there being no evidence suggesting the textual dependence of the two writers.

1.5. Outline of the Study and Research Questions

As I will consider both explicit quotations from and subtle references to the psalms in this study, I will explore how these uses of psalm material differ from one another. To set the scene before analyzing Paul’s use of psalms, I evaluate the status of psalms in Jewish scripture in chapter 3, discussing the evidence from the late Second Temple period. Furthermore, while previous studies on the topic of Paul’s use of psalms have primarily viewed the psalms available to him as occurring in their collection of 150 or

¹⁹⁶ Noteworthy is that many post-structural scholars, in the footsteps of Julia Kristeva, define a “text” as any cultural product, including oral performances.

151 in the “book” of Psalms, this study will more carefully assess (ch. 2) the possible forms of psalms available to Paul in the late Second Temple period based on both the material and literary evidence of their use. In chapter 3, I will review how psalms were used in early Judaism at the turn of the Common Era, as attested in the manuscript evidence and by Paul’s contemporaries. Especially the manuscript evidence recovered from the Judean Desert offers unique comparative material for comparison, while the writings of Philo of Alexandria and Josephus are exemplar comparanda of Early Jewish writers.

In the analysis chapters (chs. 4–7), I will examine the different ways Paul uses the psalms that are examined here: I shall discuss the occurrences of psalm references in Paul that occur in pairs or clusters, whether by means of explicit quotation introduced by a quotation formula, implicit quotation identifiable by strong lexical correspondence, or subtle reference occurring in the passage. I shall also evaluate a selection of individually occurring quotations and the characteristically psalmic expressions that are manifested in Paul’s language.

It is possible to detect two kinds of quotation combinations in my data: catenae of quotations and pairs of quotations. Romans 3 serves as an instructive example wherein Paul introduces *a catena of quotations* with a quotation formula, and the *cluster of psalm quotations* is uninterrupted by commentary. I label this type of quotation cluster *a catena of quotations*, as more than two quotations occur together. This passage is discussed at length in chapter 4.

In chapter 5, I will analyze the pairs of psalm quotations in Paul’s letters where two different psalms are quoted in the same context, or where a psalm quotation is combined with another text taken from scripture. Paul often combines psalms with a passage from the Prophets or the Law. There are altogether two instances where Paul combines two different psalms: Romans 4:3 (quoting LXX Ps 115:2 and Ps 51[52]:1) and 1 Corinthians 15:25 (quoting Ps 119[110]:1 and, in v. 27, Ps 8:7). In addition, there are two instances, where Paul combines another scriptural text with a psalm: Romans 4:3–8 (quoting Gen 15:3 and Ps 31[32]:1), and 1 Corinthians 3:19–20 (quoting Job 5:13 and Ps 93[94]:11). I compare these paired quotations to individually occurring quotations from psalms, of which there are four instances: Romans 8:36 (LXX Ps 43:23), Romans 15:3 (Ps 68:10 [69:9]), 1 Corinthians 10:26 (Ps 23[24]:1), and 2 Corinthians 4:11 (LXX Ps 115:1).

In contrast to Romans 1, where the references to psalms are subtle and may not always necessarily be intended by Paul, in 1 Corinthians 10, Paul alludes to mainly two historical psalms (78[77]; 105[106]), using their expressions and themes of the wilderness tradition in such an unambiguous manner that all of these references can be classified as bearing lexical and thematic correspondence. As the wilderness narrative is recounted also in Exodus and Numbers, it will be discussed in chapter 6 how these references can be identified as *psalm allusions*, and to what extent it is possible to pinpoint the reference of the allusion to a specific biblical text.

In my final analysis chapter 7, I evaluate the degree of psalm allusions in Romans 1. In vv. 16–24, for instance, Paul refers to several psalms in addition to other scriptural references. This passage contains *shared vocabulary and shared themes with psalms*. This type of allusive language has been labelled as “echo” in previous studies.¹⁹⁷ As mentioned above, “echo” often denotes the effect that the allusive language has on the *reader*, without any claims of (conscious) authorial intent. This same definition applies to my use of the descriptor “psalmic language:” regardless of whether the occurrence of psalmic expressions was consciously intended by Paul, a reference to psalms can be securely demonstrated.

These two passages in Romans 1 and 1 Corinthians 10 are comparable to each other in the sense that Paul elaborates on the themes introduced by the scriptural references that run throughout the passages. I label these passages as comprising *a cluster of allusions to psalms*. I will further classify the use of psalmic language into four categories in chapters 6–7, with reference to the identification of allusion. Allusions may be identified by 1) lexical and thematic correspondence (with or without so-called “metaleptical” evocations), 2) lexical correspondence only, 3) thematic correspondence between the texts with loose or no lexical correspondence, and 4) loose thematic correspondence only. The last category lends only a little support to justify the identification of a reference to psalms. As a stronger example—namely, one that can be identified by thematic and lexical correspondence—Paul’s use of the expression “the righteousness of God is revealed” in Rom 1:17 uses the language of Psalm 97(98):2: “before the nations he revealed his righteousness” (NETS). The word

¹⁹⁷ See, e.g., Hays 1989.

“to reveal” (*ἀποκαλύπτω*) followed by the object “righteousness” (*δικαιοσύνη*) occurs in no other instance in LXX than Ps 97(98):2.

Finally, in chapter 8, I will summarize the results of my analysis of the source material.

2 Manuscript Evidence for the Psalms

What sort of collection of psalms did Paul have at his disposal during his writing activity in the first century CE? Before the discovery and publication of the large psalms scroll (11QPs^a) of the Judean Desert in 1961, the only known compositions of the “book” of psalms (viz., the MT and the LXX) had attested to a relatively similar sequence and arrangement: the LXX Psalter had one more Psalm (151) than the MT Psalter, and Psalms 152–155 were known only in Syriac. Since these psalms were situated at the end of the Psalter, they were labelled “apochryphal” and interpreted as later additions to the proto-Masoretic Psalter, which was considered as having enjoyed authoritative status already at the turn of the Common Era.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the status quaestionis regarding the psalms following the discoveries in the Judean Desert. Much attention has been paid to the different sequencing of psalms between the MT Psalter and the different manuscripts from the Judean Desert. Since the analysis of the use of certain psalms by Paul often focuses on the literary context within the Psalms (according to MT or LXX), it is necessary first to ask whether Paul even used a collection of 151 Psalms, of the sort now attested in the Greek Psalter, or some other collection of psalms? Before addressing this question, I first provide a brief discussion of the psalms in Greek and then of the psalm manuscripts found in the Judean Desert. Finally, I will discuss how the discoveries of the different compositions of the psalms influence the study of Paul’s use of psalms.

2.1. The Septuagint Translation of the Psalms

In this chapter, I first discuss the origin and dating of the psalms in Greek.¹⁹⁸ In addition, I evaluate different theories that have been used to explain the purpose of the Greek translation of the psalms. Second, I briefly discuss considerations that need to be taken into account when comparing the Greek translation with the available Hebrew manuscripts of the psalms. I will give a few examples of psalms in Greek to illustrate the style of the translation. Finally, I will survey the critical discussion of Rahlfs's critical edition of the Septuagint Psalms and briefly list the most important manuscript evidence for psalms in Greek since these manuscripts are not included in Rahlfs's edition.

Before the many psalm manuscripts recovered from the Judean Desert came to light, it was commonly thought that the Masoretic text (or *textus receptus*) represented the oldest text form of the psalms and that the composition of the Masoretic Psalter was established at a relatively early stage. Nevertheless, already before the rise of Qumran studies following the discoveries of 1947, some Septuagint scholars argued that, even if the Greek translation represented a later version of its Hebrew source text, the so-called *Vorlage*, some readings and the compositional arrangement of particular books in the Septuagint seemed to attest older readings than those attested in the Masoretic text.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ According to the legend depicted in the *Letter of Aristeas*, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Pentateuch was made in Alexandria during the rule of Philadelphus (285–247 BC) by 72 Jewish scholars who arrived from Jerusalem. The title Septuagint ('Seventy')—shorted from Latin numeral 'septuagintaduo'—later came to refer to the subsequent books of the Hebrew Bible (and later also the Apocrypha) that followed the translations of Pentateuch. In addition, the letter emphasizes the initiation of the Ptolemaic ruler to embark on translating the Hebrew Bible due to supplementing the collection of the Alexandrian library. Nevertheless, the story told in the *Letter of Aristeas* rather reflects the demand for authorization and legitimation of the Greek version among diaspora Jews than a historical setting for the translation. Thus, the depiction is implausible from a historical point of view, which is why the hints for the purpose and historical setting for translating LXX and particularly the psalms should be searched for from other evidence.

¹⁹⁹ Cf., e.g., Swete ([1902] 1968, 235), who suggests that the translator of Exodus might have had "before him [...] another Hebrew text in which the present Greek order [of the furniture in the Tabernacle] was observed," further arguing that "[...] it is permissible to suppose that the Hebrew text before the original translators of Exodus did not contain this section [the Tabernacle narrative], and that it was supplied afterwards from a longer Hebrew recension of the book in which the last six chapters had not yet reached their final form" (236). A discovery of particular interest to Septuagint studies was

More recently, the Septuagint translation of the psalms has generally been taken to represent the earlier form of the Psalter from a compositional point of view. Evidence for this is demonstrated by the division of the individual psalms. For instance, since MT Psalm 10 (= LXX Ps 9:22–39) does not have a title, as opposed to most of other psalms in Books I–III, it can be surmised that LXX Psalm 9:1–39 (= MT Pss 9 + 10) represents the original arrangement. This is also demonstrated by the acrostic structure of the psalm.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, the manuscripts recovered from the Judean Desert often agree with the LXX readings against the MT.²⁰¹

To make a comparison between the Greek and Hebrew texts possible, a scholar must first take into consideration all the factors that could affect changes in the text. Such factors can be divided into three categories. First, the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint Psalms—namely, the Hebrew source text behind the translation—differs from the Masoretic text. Second, one has to take into consideration that the style of translation varies between the books of the LXX. Accounting for these differences, it is possible to determine the most likely Greek equivalents for each Hebrew word and expression. Third, one has to keep in mind that the available texts that attest the Greek translation have their own history of textual transmission. This has resulted in both unintentional mistakes by the copyists and intentional editorial changes in the texts. Concerning the psalms, on the one hand, there are few differences between the preserved manuscripts, but, on the other hand, a vast number of manuscripts has been preserved, rendering the task of comparison unwieldy.

4QJer^b, a parallel to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. Tov (1992, 13), for instance, points out that “[...] before 1947 there was little if any external evidence in support of the assumption that a given deviation from the MT in the LXX should be reconstructed into Hebrew rather than explained away as the translator’s exegesis.” Tov goes on to evaluate the external evidence that existed already before the discovery of Qumran—namely, the fact that, in many cases, the Samaritan Pentateuch agrees with the LXX against the MT.

²⁰⁰ See Wilson 1985, 173–174; Freedman 1999, 1.

²⁰¹ For a full list, see Flint 1997, 232–235. Flint categorizes the agreements between the Judean Desert manuscripts and the Septuagint into minor (verbal changes in number, mood, person, or tense; nominal changes; change/omission/addition of a preposition/article) and more significant differences (inter alia, substitution of a verbal root, addition of superscripts, addition of phrases or strophes, verse-division, the divine name) in comparison to the MT. There are altogether 21 minor differences and 10 major differences in which the readings from the DSS agree with the LXX against the MT.

2.1.1. The Date and Origin of the LXX-Psalms Translation

Henry St. John Thackeray posits in his seminal study *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (1923) that the Greek translation of psalms is to be attributed to liturgical uses by diaspora Jews.²⁰² This hypothesis is based on the superscripts of Greek psalms that refer to the annual or weekly celebrations (e.g., according to Sabbath: LXX Pss 23:1; 47:1; 91:1; 92:1; 93:1).²⁰³ Furthermore, there are entire superscripts or parts of them that appear in the Greek psalms but not in the Masoretic text.²⁰⁴ These probably did not exist in the *Vorlage* of the Greek text.²⁰⁵ Also, Peter Flint points out that the superscriptions to and titles of both the Septuagint psalms and most of the psalms in the Masoretic text are most likely secondary additions to the individual compositions since there are differences in the superscripts between the Masoretic text, the Septuagint, and the psalm manuscripts recovered from the Judean Desert.²⁰⁶

It has also been suggested that the relatively literal character of the translation implies that the Greek text was rendered for an educational context, in which the translation would function as an aid for diaspora Jews who did not know Hebrew to learn it. Albert Pietersma has characterized this kind of translation as “interlinear,” in reference to the interlinear (i.e., parallel) nature of the translation compared to the Hebrew text. According to this view, the translation was made for educational, not for liturgical purposes.²⁰⁷ However, this characterization of the translation is not supported by the text of the psalms since, even if it does follow the Hebrew *Vorlage*, the translation is relatively free in rendering Greek equivalents to Hebrew words. In addition, Pietersma’s claim that the interlinear translation was meant to be read

²⁰² Thackeray 1923, 40.

²⁰³ For a full list, see Swete (1902) 1968, 250–251.

²⁰⁴ E.g., the plus ψαλμός in LXX Pss 10, 13, 24, 43, 80.

²⁰⁵ In addition, it is debated whether the superscripts are of Jewish origin or are much later Christian additions. According to Gzella (2001, 29) the superscripts cannot be unreservedly attributed to a Jewish background, as Rahlfs claims in his critical edition (§9.1.4: “zweifelloos jüdischer Herkunft”). The stylistic variation of these superscripts further speaks to the view that they were added at different phases of textual transmission.

²⁰⁶ Flint 1997, 117.

²⁰⁷ Pietersma 2013, 153, 156–157, 166. Cf. also Pietersma 2013, 367; Pietersma 2001.

simultaneously with the Hebrew text is not plausible since the LXX translation functioned as a free-standing translation.²⁰⁸

The dating of the translation of the Greek psalms is still contested in recent scholarship. Previous research dates the translation as far back as the beginning of the second century BCE.²⁰⁹ However, such an early dating has been challenged since the language of the Greek translation represents a later state of Greek vocabulary, which implies a later dating. In addition, following the discoveries in the Judean Desert, since these manuscripts show that the composition of the book of Psalms was still taking shape into the first century CE—and beyond, the Masoretic composition of the psalms is no longer seen as the only authoritative psalm composition during the turn of the Common Era. Thus, the dating of the translation of the Greek Psalter (LXX 151 Psalms) has likewise shifted to a later time than was previously thought.

Since the absolute date of the translation of the book of the Psalms has moved from the beginning of the second century BCE even to the first century CE—if one surmises that the Greek translation required a fixed Hebrew text of the Masoretic Psalter—and thus remains uncertain, scholars have recently attempted to place the translation of psalms in relation to the other LXX translations. Anneli Aejmelaeus has proposed that the translator of Isaiah was dependent on the translation of the LXX Psalms.²¹⁰ In this relative dating, the translation of the psalms would have taken place between the translation of the Minor Prophets and Isaiah—i.e., the latter part of the second century BCE.²¹¹ This theory best explains the peculiar word choice both in psalms and in Isaiah and the Minor Prophets. The Greek word *ὄπωροφυλάκιον*, “hut for a garden-watcher,” is used in LXX Ps 79(78):1 and in Isa 1:8, Mic 1:16, and 3:12. This word is a particularly surprising choice in Psalm 79(78) since the psalm speaks about foreign nations that have “laid Jerusalem in ruins” (Ps 79:1 NRSV). Based on this mismatch, Aejmelaeus argues that the translator of the psalms must have used as

²⁰⁸ Cf. Pietersma 2013, 162.

²⁰⁹ Munnich 1987, 193; Harl, Dorival and Munnich 1988, 96–97: “Probablement début du II^e siècle avant notre ère” (97). Cf. also the chart in Harl, Dorival, and Munnich 1988, 111.

²¹⁰ Aejmelaeus 2003, 506, 511–513.

²¹¹ For the dating of the translation of Isaiah, see Troxel 2008, 35.

an aid the translation of Micah (Mic 1:6; 3:12), where the same Hebrew–Greek equivalent is found.²¹²

Additionally, according to Aejmelaeus, there is other lexical evidence supporting the theory that the psalms were translated between the translations of the Minor Prophets and Isaiah.²¹³ For instance, the translator of the psalms used the pair of parallel expressions *εὐφραίνομαι* and *ἀγαλλιάομαι* consistently to render verbs expressing joy, the former translating the Hebrew verb *שמח*, and the latter translating five different Hebrew verbs (*עלץ*, *עלץ*, *נרנן*, *שש* and *גיל*), the exact meanings of which seem to have been unclear to the translator. These five words seem to have been translated based on their context by consistently translating the Hebrew parallel expressions that occur in pairs with the same Greek parallel expressions,²¹⁴ while the translation of the verb *שמח* by the equivalent *εὐφραίνομαι* was adopted from the model of the Greek Pentateuch.²¹⁵ The same pair *εὐφραίνομαι* and *ἀγαλλιάομαι* in Greek is used in the translation of Isaiah as expressions of joy, but the translator does not consistently use the same Greek equivalents for each Hebrew word as the translator of psalms does, regarding the pair *שמח*–*εὐφραίνομαι* in particular. This implies that the translator of Isaiah used the pair *εὐφραίνομαι* and *ἀγαλλιάομαι* that occurs in the Greek psalms as a model, and therefore it seems that Isaiah was translated after the psalms. Aejmelaeus concludes that the translation of *עלץ* as *ἀγαλλιάομαι* first appeared in the Minor Prophets, and the translator of the psalms followed this practice. Subsequently, the language of the psalms influenced the translation of the book of Isaiah.²¹⁶

²¹² Aejmelaeus (2003, 512–513 n. 46). The Hebrew word *ע*, “ruin, heap of ruins” is translated in Greek by the equivalent *ὀπωροφυλάκιον*, “garden-watcher’s hut,” in Ps 78:1 (“laid in a garden-watcher’s hut” [τῆθῃ + εἰς ὀπωροφυλάκιον]) following the model of Micah 1:6 and 3:12, which use the same equivalence *ע*–*ὀπωροφυλάκιον*. In contrast, in Isaiah 1:8 and 24:20, *ὀπωροφυλάκιον* occurs as an equivalent for *לִיָּנָה*, “lodge; hut.”

²¹³ Aejmelaeus 2003, 506.

²¹⁴ Aejmelaeus 2003, 505, 506.

²¹⁵ Aejmelaeus 2003, 502.

²¹⁶ Aejmelaeus 2003, 506, 511–513.

In sum, the relative dating of these three texts suggests that the LXX Psalms were translated between the Minor Prophets and Isaiah, though the direction of influence concerning this peculiar word is still contested.²¹⁷

Scholars also debate whether the Greek translation of psalms took place in Palestine or in Egypt.²¹⁸ The occurrence of the word βαρις (LXX Ps 44:9) as a Greek equivalent for הֵיכָל “palace; temple”²¹⁹ in Ps 44(45):9 has been used as support for the Palestine hypothesis since, according to Jerome, the word βαρις was used in Palestinian Greek to mean “castle,” whereas it was used to mean “boat” in Egyptian Greek.²²⁰ Furthermore, in Ps 47(48):4 and 14, the translator renders אֶרְמוֹן “citadel” with the Greek equivalent βαρις. It has also been suggested that the use of the translation βαρις might have been influenced by the similar sound of בֵּרֶה “fortress,” which corresponds closely in meaning to אֶרְמוֹן “citadel.”²²¹ As further support of this proposal, the cognate Greek word πυργόβαρις renders אֶרְמוֹן in Ps 121(122):7.

Holger Gzella, on the other hand, argues that the word βαρις is a homonym that denotes both meanings. In other words, βαρις is used in a Palestinian context to mean “castle” as well as in an Egyptian context to mean “boat.”²²² He further points out that the translator’s choice to use such a rare equivalent as βαρις for the Hebrew word “temple” may simply be due to context—e.g., in LXX Ps 44:9 it is not the temple at Jerusalem but ivory palaces in general that are at stake in Ps 45(44); furthermore, since

²¹⁷ Cf., e.g., Williams (2001, 268), who argues, contra Aejmelaeus, for the influence of Isaiah on the translation of psalms based on the same evidence as Aejmelaeus. Williams (249) posits that psalms was translated already in the second century BCE. In addition, according to Hugo (2015, 129), the lexical evidence shows that Psalms was translated in the early second century BCE, after the translation of the books of Samuel but before the Kings. Regarding the relative dating compared to other books in the LXX, cf. 4 Macc 18:15, where Ps 34:20 is quoted.

²¹⁸ For an argument in favor of a Palestinian origin of the translation, see Schaper 1995; 42–45; idem 2014, 174–175.

²¹⁹ In the other 12 occurrences of this word, the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew הֵיכָל is ναός.

²²⁰ Cf. Jerome, *Commentarioli in Psalmos / Breviarium in Psalmos*, PL 26, 958D; Ps 44(45):9 (“[...] Multi per errorem pro domibus ‘graves’ dicunt: quia apud Graecos verbum βαρεων utrumque significat.”); *Ep.* 65, PL 22, col. 633 (“Pro eo quos nos transtulimus ‘domibus eburneis,’ quia in graeco scriptum est ἀπὸ βαρεων [ἐλεφαντίνων], quidam Latinorum ob verbi ambiguitatem ‘a gravibus’ interpretati sunt, cum βαρις ἐπιχώριον Palaestinae [...]).

²²¹ H. Lewy, (1895), 96, followed by Thackeray (1909), 34. Cited in Gzella 2001, 20.

²²² Gzella 2001, 20, following Venetz 1974.

the ivory industry was associated with the Syro-Palestinian region,²²³ the choice of translation would make sense.

In addition to this vocabulary, it has been argued that there are elements in the psalms that resemble the so-called *kaige* tradition, which seeks to bring the Greek translation into closer alignment with the Hebrew text. Based on the rendering of the Hebrew conjunction וְ with the Greek equivalent καὶ γάρ, the Greek translation of psalms could be connected to the *kaige* tradition, which has been associated with the Palestine region. According to this theory, the translation predates the *kaige* tradition.²²⁴

However, there are more parallels in the LXX Pss, as there are in the LXX as a whole, to colloquial Greek used in Egypt in Ptolemaic times, which is attested in surviving papyri and inscriptions.²²⁵ Lexically, morphologically, and syntactically, the language of LXX Pss is comparable to documentary papyri in particular. Linguistic elements from this mode of writing occur more frequently than the above-mentioned rare equivalents, and these have been taken to indicate an Egyptian origin of the translation. For instance, αὐτός is used as a pronoun also in the nominative case, a phenomenon that is uncommon in Classical Greek.²²⁶ In sum, based on the correspondence between the vocabulary of the translation of psalms and the papyri found in Egypt, it is more likely that the translation originated in Egypt around the second century BCE.

2.1.2. *Characteristics of the Translation of the Psalms*

The translation of the psalms is often characterized in terms of how literal or free it is. Whereas literalness is a rather clear category, free translation is difficult to define. As an aid, one can differentiate between quantitative and qualitative criteria to describe

²²³ Gzella 2001, 22–23: “[d]as Zentrum der Elfenbeinindustrie war, wie auch in den biblischen Büchern weithin bekannt, im Altertum Syrien-Palästina” (23).

²²⁴ Cf. also, e.g., Munnich (1987, 205–217), who has advocated this theory, basing his views on Venetz’s (1974) observations. Similarly, Van der Kooij 1983. For a survey of *kaige*-type elements in the psalms in Greek, see Gentry 2001.

²²⁵ See, e.g., Aitken 2015b, 185.

²²⁶ Dickey 2011, 157.

the translation technique. Aejmelaesus uses James Barr's classification, which differentiates between "literal" and "less literal."²²⁷

The quantitative criteria are 1) the word-for-word approach (i.e., calculating which elements are added or omitted), 2) word order, and 3) segmentation.²²⁸ Using these criteria, the translation of the Greek Psalms follows its *Vorlage* nearly word-for-word, as the translator seeks to find Greek equivalents for each Hebrew word and expression. In addition, the translation often even tries to follow the word order.

The qualitative criteria are 1) the choice of equivalents, 2) the consistency of these choices, 3) the adequacy of the equivalents, 4) the adequacy of the chosen grammatical forms, and 5) the level of interpretation.²²⁹ According to the qualitative criteria, the psalms provide us with a translation that is, in many aspects, relatively free.

An illustrative example of qualitative freeness in the translation of the Psalms is to be found in the word-group expressing trust or hope. In the Hebrew Psalms, verbs expressing trust occur abundantly, yet the translator does not use the Greek equivalent *πέποιθα* "to trust" for these Hebrew words, the most common of which are *בטח* and *הסח*. Instead, he opts for the equivalent *ἐλπίζω*, "to hope" (e.g., Ps 5:12).²³⁰ In this case, the translator did not follow the model offered in the Pentateuch as he did elsewhere in the Psalms, and as did some of the other LXX translators.²³¹

Using grammatical criteria—namely, regarding the translation of the Hebrew comparative *מִן*—the translator of the psalms cannot be described as being any less skilled than the translators of the Pentateuch, as the translators of each Pentateuchal

²²⁷ Aejmelaesus 2001b, 58, following Barr 1979, 294[20].

²²⁸ Segmentation denotes "the size of the portion of text that was usually, or could possibly be, taken into account by the translator" (Aejmelaesus 2001b, 58) and can be further described as either narrow or wide.

²²⁹ Aejmelaesus 2001b, 58.

²³⁰ Aejmelaesus 2001a. Outside of the Psalms (73 occurrences), *ἐλπίζω* is a relatively rare verb in the LXX (44 occurrences). The noun *ἐλπίς* occurs in the LXX 117 times, 18 of which are in the Psalms. The compound verb *ἐπελπίζω* occurs 8 times in the LXX, 7 of which are in the Psalms.

²³¹ Another example of the free nature of the psalms translation is the Hebrew metaphor of rock (*צור*) as God's epithet, translated into Greek as "helper" (*βοηθός*; Ps 17[18]:3; 19[20]:15; 77[78]:35; 93[94]:22), "help" (*βοήθεια*; 62[61]:8), "protector" (*ἀντιλήπτωρ*; 89[88]:27), or simply "God" (*θεός*; 17[18]:32, 47; 27[28]:1; 30[31]:3; 61[62]:3, 7, 8; 70[71]:3; 72[73]:26; 91[92]:16; 94[95]:1; 143[144]:1). Cf. Olofsson 1990, followed by Aejmelaesus 2001b, 72; 2006.

book did not recognize all of the occurrences of comparative $\pi\alpha$. Out of 33 instances of the expression in the Psalms, the translator renders only five instances with the correct Greek equivalent—viz., Ps 35(34):10; 37(36):16; 63(62):4; 84(83):11 (bis).²³²

To sum up, the translation technique of the Greek Psalms has been described “as fairly literal and non-idiomatic—not slavishly literal or wooden.”²³³ The translator of the Septuagint Psalter characteristically relies on the Greek Pentateuch for Hebrew–Greek equivalents.²³⁴ Nevertheless, the translator does not seem to consult the Pentateuch in translating vocabulary related to faith, trust, and other cognate terms.²³⁵ Furthermore, the translation is rather uniform, which makes it plausible that it was rendered by a single translator or at least in a uniform cultural milieu.

2.1.3. Rahlfs’s Critical Edition *Psalmi cum Odis*

Alfred Rahlfs did not include all the now available manuscript evidence in his critical edition (1931) since they have been recovered subsequently and since he classified some of the later manuscripts as unreliable witnesses to the earliest attainable readings. In the following, I attempt to fill in some of these gaps by accounting for all of the currently available and most prominent manuscript evidence on the psalms.

Rahlfs presents his classification in his study “Der Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern,” published in *Die Septuaginta-Studien* in 1907. He bases his conclusions on collations prepared by Holmes & Parsons, Paul de Lagarde, and E. Klostermann, which Rahlfs estimated as being more reliable than those of Swete.²³⁶ In all, more than

²³² Aejmelaeus 2001b, 63–64. The comparative form turned out to be one of the most difficult grammatical forms for the Septuagint translators, neglected also in the better translations, such as Genesis and Exodus. It is worth bearing in mind, however, that contemporary Greek style favored the use of the positive form of an adjective instead of the comparative or superlative to express comparison.

²³³ Flint 1997, 232.

²³⁴ Aejmelaeus 2006, 367.

²³⁵ Aejmelaeus 2006, 369: “[c]ertain equivalents in other areas only needed to occur once in the Pentateuch and they were picked up by the translator of the Psalter. Obviously, he did not do so mechanically, but critically tested the words offered by the Pentateuch as to their applicability in his context. In those expressions where this translator ended up using $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, it was mostly a question of the petitioner’s relationship to God, a very delicate area, and the translator showed great consideration for the kinds of expressions used.” It is worth noting that $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ occurs only once in the Pentateuch (Deut 24:15), as does $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Gen 4:26). $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ does not occur at all in the Pentateuch.

²³⁶ Rahlfs (1907) 1965, 4–5.

1,300 Greek witnesses were considered for the critical text, mainly based on three types of witnesses: 1) Greek manuscripts, including fragmentary papyri, the uncial codices, and later (starting from 9th century CE) minuscule manuscripts; 2) daughter translations (Ethiopic, Christian Palestinian-Aramaic, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, Slavonic, Bohairic and Sahidic Coptic, Syriac, and Latin); and 3) citations from the psalms by early Christian writers. Due to the vast amount of material, Rahlfs did not consider all the readings attested in these witnesses, instead collating the readings of 61 manuscripts and the Bohairic and Sahidic Coptic, Old Latin, and Syriac translations, as well as Jerome's *Psalterium Gallicanum*. In addition, among citations made by early Christian writers, Rahlfs checked Augustine, Hesychius, Jerome, and Theodoret.²³⁷

Rahlfs divides the existing witnesses into six groups according to their (estimated) geographic origin, and further divides the groups into eastern and western groups. The eastern group included Lower Egyptian, Upper Egyptian, and Common Egyptian manuscripts in addition to manuscripts of mixed or uncertain origin, while the western groups included all Old Latin translations. Even though some of the Latin texts probably come from the second century CE, and are thus earlier than some eastern texts, Rahlfs estimates that they are among the more corrupted texts.²³⁸ In addition to these, there are also Greek manuscripts whose origin lay west, R W and Z, spanning from the sixth to the twelfth centuries—i.e., much later than the Latin translations.²³⁹ These groups are labelled as Western and Hexaplaric. The classification of manuscript groups and their representatives can be summarized in the following table:²⁴⁰

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <i>Lower Egyptian (Bohair)</i> | e.g., B S Bo 2008 |
| <i>Upper Egyptian (Sahid)</i> | e.g., U 2013 Sa 1221 2017 |
| <i>Western</i> | e.g., R La ^R La ^G |
| <i>Hexaplaric</i> | e.g., 2005 1098 Ga |

²³⁷ Schäfer 2016, 225–227. For a detailed summary of these text-types, see Schäfer 2016, 231–250. Rahlfs ([1907] 1965, 176–177) clarifies that there are sometimes differences between the psalm texts attested in Theodoret's Psalter commentary and in his other texts. In general, Rahlfs notes (177) that Theodoret's text follows the Lucianic text.

²³⁸ Rahlfs (1907) 1965, 36–37.

²³⁹ Rahlfs (1907) 1965, 38.

²⁴⁰ Rahlfs (1931) 1979, §§2–8. Cf., Schäfer 2016, 231.

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| <i>Lucianic / “Vulgärtext”</i> ²⁴¹ | Z T Tht Sy He ca. 100 MSS in Holmes & Parsons |
| <i>Common Egyptian (Sonstige Textzeugen)</i> | e.g., A 1219 55 Lond ²³⁰ (2019) |

Table 1.1 Rahlfs’s Classification of the Manuscripts of the LXX Psalms

Peter Flint summarizes Rahlfs’s method of analysis as follows:

- 1) When a reading is attested by Lower Egyptian, Upper Egyptian, and Western texts (i.e., the three most ancient groups), it is accepted as the Old Greek.
- 2) When conflicting readings are attested by the three ancient text-groups, the reading equivalent to the Masoretic text is selected.
- 3) When the three oldest groups disagree with the Masoretic text while the younger (Hexaplaric and Lucianic) groups support it, Rahlfs adopts the reading as a correction towards the proto-Masoretic Text.
- 4) In doubtful cases, Rahlfs accepts the reading of B’ (i.e., B and S) as constituting the Old Greek, but not that of B alone.²⁴²

Scholars since Rahlfs have viewed his eclectic method in his critical edition of the Septuagint Psalms with disfavor. In particular, Albert Pietersma²⁴³ and Peter Flint²⁴⁴ have questioned Rahlfs’s criteria for grouping the manuscripts. Pietersma argues that Rahlfs uses a “bipolar model” to evaluate textual variants, faulting Rahlfs for estimating the readings of B (Codex Vaticanus) most reliable while treating the Vulgar text as corrupt.²⁴⁵ Similarly, Cameron Boyd-Taylor et al. have criticized Rahlfs’s comparison of each variant against B and the Lucianic text, uncritically treating the latter two as textual archetypes.²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ For the terminology, see Schäfer 2016, 245–246.

²⁴² Flint 2000, 338. Cf. Rahlfs (1907) 1965, 2–4. See also the introduction in Rahlfs (1931) 1979, 10–77, esp. 71–72 § 9.1.

²⁴³ Pietersma 2000.

²⁴⁴ Flint 2000, 338: “[i]t is clear from these criteria that [by] establishing his OG readings of the Psalter, Rahlfs offers an eclectic text that disregards Lucianic manuscripts almost completely. Moreover, *Psalmi cum Odis* requires a thorough revision and updating, since it falls far short of the requirements for a proper critical edition.”

²⁴⁵ Pietersma 2000, 15. Pietersma argues that this kind of bipolar view has ancient roots—namely, Jerome, in his preface to *Sunmia et Fretela*, claims that “the two poles are identified as the ‘true’ Septuagint of Origen’s Hexapla and the *κοινή* or so-called Lucianic text.”

²⁴⁶ Boyd-Taylor, Austin, and Feuerverger 2001, 102–103.

This last criticism has come into question since Rahlfs's classification contains six, not two, groups. Still, while the new Göttingen edition of the Septuagint Psalms is under preparation, scholars must rely on Rahlfs's critical edition, incorporating the subsequently recovered manuscript evidence separately. In the following sub-section, I will briefly deal with this subsequently recovered manuscript evidence including those MSS that Rahlfs does include in his critical edition.

2.1.4. Manuscripts Attesting to the Psalms in Greek

The Greek Psalms is the most-attested book among the books of the LXX in terms of the number of available manuscripts.²⁴⁷ Below, I will briefly discuss the papyrus evidence attesting to the Greek psalms. Afterwards, I will deal with the most important revisions of the LXX with regard to the psalm. The most important codices are Codex Sinaiticus (S / Ⲛ), dated to the earlier half of the fourth century,²⁴⁸ Codex Alexandrinus (A), dated to the fourth or the fifth century,²⁴⁹ and Codex Vaticanus (B) that is dated to the fourth century.²⁵⁰

2.1.4.1. Papyri

Since the publication of Rahlfs's critical edition, many more manuscripts have been discovered. In addition to the papyri dealt with here, there are roughly 20 other

²⁴⁷ Pietersma 2000, 13.

²⁴⁸ Jellicoe 1968, 180–182. Jellicoe (182) notes that Codex Sinaiticus bears Hexaplaric influence in the Psalms and Esther.

²⁴⁹ Jellicoe (1968, 183–184) is inclined to date Codex Alexandrinus to the fifth century, although he mentions that there are elements that suggest its dating, at the earliest, to the latter part of the fourth century. As for its textual affiliation, Codex Alexandrinus witnesses Lucianic elements in Job and the Psalms (Jellicoe 1968, 187). Regarding the study at hand, it is of interest that, unlike codices Ⲛ and B, A contains the liturgical Odes which are included in the critical edition of Psalms and Odes by Rahlfs ([1931] 1979). Moreover, like codices Ⲛ and B, A contain Ps 151, and, in addition, it originally contained the Psalms of Solomon (Jellicoe 1968, 183).

²⁵⁰ Rahlfs (1907, 77–78) dates Codex Vaticanus (B) to 367 CE since the order and extent of the biblical books that it includes correspond with the list in Athanasius's 39th Festal Letter, written in 367 CE. Furthermore, Rahlfs (78) situates B in Egypt since Athanasius had his episcopal residence in Alexandria, where the festal letter had authority. Cf. Jellicoe 1968, 178–179, who notes (197, n. 3) that the compiling of the codex "[...] was carried out in Alexandria either before the Roman exile of Athanasius, or between his return (c. 346) and the death of Constans in 350."

manuscripts dated from the first to the fourth century CE that were not available at the time of the publication of Rahlfs's edition.

Papyrus Oxyrynchus

The oldest witness among these discoveries is Papyrus Oxyrynchus 77.5101 (= Rahlfs 2227). The manuscript features parts of LXX Pss 26, 44, 47, 48, 49, and 63 and is dated to the first or second century CE.²⁵¹

Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri

The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri (P.Beatty) comprises a group of manuscripts that Frederic G. Kenyon reports to have been purchased in the 1930s in Egypt,²⁵² though Albert Pietersma writes that the provenance is unknown.²⁵³ Among these include two papyri attesting the Greek Psalms: P.Beatty XIII and XIV. P.Beatty XIII (inventoried as 2149 by the Septuaginta-Unternehmen) contains Psalms 72:6–23, 25–76:1; 77:1–18, 20–81:7; 82:2–84:14; 85:2–88:2. A separate folio, P.Beatty XIV, numbered 2150 by Septuaginta-Unternehmen, contains (in the given order) Psalms 31:8–11; 26:1–6, 8–14; and 2:1–8. Both manuscripts are dated to the fourth century CE.²⁵⁴ These two manuscripts are of great importance since they constitute the fourth- and fifth-most-extensive manuscripts with such an early dating, superseded only by U²⁵⁵, 2013²⁵⁶, and P.Bodm. XXIV (2110, see below). Manuscript P.Bodm. XXIV came to light after the publication of Rahlfs's edition.²⁵⁷ Pietersma further groups the variants according

²⁵¹ Papyri.info's web page, accessed April 17, 2020, <http://papyri.info/dclp/140272>.

²⁵² Kenyon 1933, 5.

²⁵³ Pietersma 1978, 1.

²⁵⁴ Pietersma 1978, 1–2, 5. Pietersma (2) mentions that E. G. Turner (in a private communication between Pietersma and Turner) dates the manuscript to the fourth century rather than to the third century. See Pietersma (1978, 40–50) for a list of differences between Rahlfs's critical text and P. Chester Beatty XIII–XIV, a discussion of whether these readings could represent the Old Greek text, and a Hebrew retroversion of the text.

²⁵⁵ London, Brit. Mus., Pap. 37; dating to the sixth century CE and containing parts of LXX Pss 10–18; 20–34.

²⁵⁶ Leipzig, Univ.-Bibl., Pap. 39; dating to the fourth century CE and containing parts of LXX Pss 30–35 and completely LXX Pss 35:3–55:14.

²⁵⁷ Pietersma 1978, 5–6.

to textual affiliation,²⁵⁸ concluding that the Lucianic text should be regarded as more often representing the original Old Greek reading than Rahlfs thinks.²⁵⁹

Papyrus Bodmer

Another important collection of witnesses discovered after the publication of Rahlfs's critical edition is the Bodmer Papyri (P.Bodm.), which comprises 22 manuscripts found in Egypt in 1952. P.Bodm. XXIV (Ra 2110) features Pss 17–68 and is dated to the third or fourth century CE. P.Bodm. VI–IX contain parts of Pss 33 and 34.²⁶⁰

These texts are written in Greek and Coptic, comprising passages from the Old Testament, the New Testament, texts that would later become the Old and New Testament Apocrypha (Greek: Ode of Salomon, Nativity of Mary, Apocalypse of James, Epistle of Corinthians to Paul, and Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians; in Coptic: Acts of Paul), and a few texts by pagan authors. The manuscripts are mostly written in codex format, some in scroll format. In total, the dates of the manuscripts range from the third century (P.Bodm. LXVI containing parts of the Gospel of John) to the sixth or seventh century (P.Bodm. LXXIV).

P. Bodmer XXIV contains Pss 17–118, written in Greek, and is dated to the third or fourth century CE. Rodolphe Kasser and Michel Testuz have published a diplomatic edition of the P.Bodm. XVII–CXVIII and include a critical apparatus indicating variant readings in comparison with Rahlfs's critical text.²⁶¹ In general, the papyrus contains a large number of copying mistakes, as listed by Kasser and Testuz, and these deviations must be recognized and excluded before using the papyrus as a text critical witness.²⁶² Nevertheless, P. Bodmer is a very important witness since it is well preserved and contains about one third of the LXX 151-Psalms.

²⁵⁸ Pietersma 1978, 56–66.

²⁵⁹ Pietersma 1978, 66. Cf. Rahlfs (1931) 1979, 72 §9.1.3.

²⁶⁰ Kasser and Testuz 1967.

²⁶¹ Kasser and Testuz 1967.

²⁶² For instance, at the end of Ps 26, P. Bodmer has a plus—in fact, the beginning of Ps 25:1–3—that resulted from a copyist's error. Kasser and Testuz 1967, 14, 61.

Montserrat parchments

In addition, there are fragments featuring Pss 14(15):3–5 and 119(120):7 written on parchment among the Montserrat texts. The provenance of the fragment containing Ps 14(15) is unknown and dates to the early second century CE.²⁶³ The fragment containing Ps 119(120):7 is written on parchment dating to the third century CE and its provenance is Egypt.²⁶⁴

2.1.4.2. The Lucianic Text

Rahlfs's characterization of the Lucianic text-type is based on three western sources: 1) a few hundred minuscule manuscripts, 2) the citations from Psalms in Theodoret of Cyrus, and 3) the Syriac translation of the Psalter in the Syro-Hexapla.²⁶⁵ The Lucianic text was widely circulated and used in Constantinople, the capital of the Roman Empire in the East. According to Jerome, Lucian's recension was predominant in the whole area from Antioch to Constantinople by 400 CE.²⁶⁶ Rahlfs concludes that especially the Psalms seems to be well attested with regard to Lucianic readings, which is probably no coincidence. Since it was used alongside the New Testament in liturgical contexts, the Psalms enjoyed great popularity and a wide distribution—and, consequently, corruptions—of the text.²⁶⁷

2.1.5 Conclusions on the Greek Psalms

Based on the above discussion, although the preserved manuscripts are later than Paul's writing activity, it seems that Paul indeed had access to psalms in Greek. Nevertheless, it remains uncertain in which context and which particular composition and text type of the psalms he studied. Hence, recent developments in scholarship on the LXX Psalms have emphasized the importance of comparing Paul's quotations from the psalms with the LXX text. In other words, although the manuscript evidence

²⁶³ Torallas Tovar et al. 2014, 87. Cf. Papyri.info's web page, accessed April 17, 2020, <http://papyri.info/dclp/61925>.

²⁶⁴ Papyri.info's web page, accessed April 17, 2020, <http://papyri.info/dclp/68621>.

²⁶⁵ Schäfer 2016, 246.

²⁶⁶ Rahlfs 1907, 236–237.

²⁶⁷ Rahlfs (1907) 1965, 237. Cf., Schäfer 2016, 246–247.

of the Greek psalms is abundant, tracing the possible (or even multiple) textual form(s) that was or were at Paul's disposal is difficult. Certainly, the critical text of Rahlfs's edition should not be considered the same as Paul's source text. Rather, the wording of Paul's quotations should be compared to all (or at least the most prominent) manuscript evidence and tested against the possibility that Paul might have relied on a text type other than those attested by Rahlfs's critical text.

2.2. Discoveries in the Judean Desert Attesting to Psalms

As described above, before the comparison of the LXX Psalms with the Hebrew sources, one must familiarize oneself with the translation technique of the LXX Psalms and the textual history of the LXX as well as with how the *Vorlage* behind the LXX differs from the MT (e.g., according to the text of Codex Leningradensis, dated to 1008; the Aleppo Codex, dated to 10th century CE; or medieval manuscripts). The other medieval manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible mostly agree with MT^L, which has caused many scholars to believe that the text was copied diligently throughout its textual transmission and that deviations between the MT and LXX emerged from deliberate changes made by the translators. The discoveries of the Judean Desert shattered this image, demonstrating the plurality of the Hebrew text and that especially the book of Psalms was still in flux as late as the first century CE.

2.2.1. Overall Description of the Manuscripts

There are, in all, 45 manuscripts among the Judean Desert scrolls that attest to psalms that are contained in the MT Psalter.²⁶⁸ Of these, 42²⁶⁹ were found near Qumran, one

²⁶⁸ Flint 2014, 229. There are three subsequently-found manuscripts listed by Flint (2014) not considered in this study.

²⁶⁹ For an illustrative survey of the confusion of the manuscript tally by scholars, see Jain 2014, 3–7. For a list of the 39 psalm manuscripts, see Flint 1997, 52; Flint (2000, 339–340) also lists the Dead Sea scrolls psalm manuscripts, which are as follows: 1Q10, 1Q11, 1Q12, 1Q14, 3Q2, 4Q83, 4Q84, 4Q85, 4Q86, 4Q87, 4Q88, 4Q89, 4Q90, 4Q91, 4Q92, 4Q93, 4Q94, 4Q95, 4Q96, 4Q97, 4Q98, 4Q98a, 4Q98b,

at Nahal Hever, and two at Masada. Apart from these psalm manuscripts, there are seven manuscripts that quote from psalms.²⁷⁰ The editors of DJD, based on paleographic data, believe that the two oldest psalm manuscripts (4QPs^a and 4QPs^w) were copied c. 150 BCE, six manuscripts (1QPs^c, 2QPs, 4QPs^h, 4QPs^m, 4QPs^p, 4QPs^r) around the Herodian period, and four (1QPs^v, 3QPs, 5QPs, 8QPs) during the first century CE. The largest psalm manuscript, 11QPs^a (11Q5), was likely copied during the middle of the first century CE,²⁷¹ and the four most recent manuscripts (4QPs^c, 4QPs^s, 11QapocPs, and 5/6HevPs) sometime after the mid-first century CE.²⁷²

As for the number of preserved manuscripts among the Judean Desert collection, psalms are the most attested of all scriptural books. As mentioned above, roughly forty manuscripts altogether incorporating the psalms were found at Qumran, compared to 27 manuscripts witnessing Deuteronomy and 24 witnessing Isaiah. In earlier research, the number of manuscripts was thought to correlate with the prestige and use of the *book* of Psalms in the Qumran community. Recently, however, scholars have argued that the amount of the manuscripts does not tell much about the content or the quality of the finds.²⁷³ Namely, as Pajunen shows in a helpful table, 14 of the 36 (leaving out the manuscripts from Masada and Nahal Hever) manuscripts are actually only fragments containing a few words from a single psalm.²⁷⁴ Only six out of 36 contain more than 10 psalms.²⁷⁵ I will proceed by first briefly introducing the minor finds of caves 1 to 8, and then I will concentrate on the largest psalm manuscript discovery at Qumran—namely, 11QPs^a.

4Q98c, 4Q98d, 4Q98e, 4Q236, 4Q522, 5Q5, pap6Q5, 8Q2, 11Q5, 11Q6, 11Q7, 11Q8, 11Q11, 5/6Hev-Se4 Ps, MasPs^a, MasPs^b. See also the description of the contents of manuscripts in Flint 1997, 257–264.

²⁷⁰ Flint 1997, 52: 1Q16, 4Q171, 4Q173, 4Q174, 4Q176, 4Q177, 11Q13. Lange and Weigold (2011) have investigated quotations from and allusions to Biblical literature amongst the Dead Sea scrolls and provide a helpful, though not comprehensive, list of biblical quotations. As for subtle allusions, Lange and Weigold use rather strict criteria to exclude uncertain allusions to biblical texts among the Qumran scrolls. Namely, they have tried to set a lexical minimum for allusions—i.e., only instances that exhibit lexical agreement on the basis of two or more words are considered allusions.

²⁷¹ Jain 2014, 8.

²⁷² Flint 2014, 241.

²⁷³ Pajunen 2014, 140–141, followed by Mroczek 2016, 26–33.

²⁷⁴ Pajunen 2014, 142, followed by Mroczek (2016, 27–29), whose table features also the contents of the MSS listing the psalms.

²⁷⁵ Mroczek 2016, 29.

Finds from Cave 1

In 1947, two Bedouin shepherds happened to find Cave 1, the first location to be discovered at Khirbet Qumran (hence the number). The critical edition of the manuscripts found there was published in 1955 by Dominique Barthélemy and J. T. Milik (DJD 1), though the evidence (being very fragmentary) did not provide attestation against Masoretic readings. Before the discovery of Cave 11, there was not much evidence for a different composition of psalms compared to what had eventually become the Masoretic Psalter. The following portions of psalms were found at Cave 1: 1QPs^a (1Q10), comprising fragments of Pss 86; 92; 94–96; 119; 1QPs^b (1Q11), comprising portions of Pss 126; 127; 128; and 1QPs^c (1Q12), preserving parts of Ps 44.²⁷⁶

Minor Finds from Caves 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8

There are five manuscripts that comprise fragments of psalms found at Caves 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8. Among these, 2QPs (2Q14) contains portions of Pss 103 and 104,²⁷⁷ 3QPs (3Q2) contains a few words from Ps 2:6–7, 5QPs (5Q5) features parts of Ps 119 written in stichometry, pap6Ps (5Q6) contains Ps 78:36–37, and 8QPs (8Q2) contains text from Ps 17:5–18:13. All these manuscripts are dated to the first century CE, though the dating of pap6Ps is uncertain.²⁷⁸

Finds from Cave 4

In total, 25 psalm manuscripts were found in Cave 4,²⁷⁹ and they are very fragmentary.²⁸⁰ In 1957, J. T. Milik published a study that reconstructed the scroll from Cave 4 now labeled 4QPs^q. Milik showed that there was a fragment of a psalm composition that did not follow the Masoretic order of the Psalms: Ps 31 was followed directly by Ps 33. Furthermore, the oldest extant psalm manuscript, 4QPs^a, places Ps

²⁷⁶ DJD 1, 69–72; Flint 1997, 31.

²⁷⁷ Flint 1997, 31–33.

²⁷⁸ Flint 2014, 230–231.

²⁷⁹ For a list of the psalms and their contents, see Flint 2014, 235.

²⁸⁰ For a description and discussion of the psalm manuscripts from Cave 4, see DJD 16.

38 after Ps 71.²⁸¹ The differences in the sequence of the MT Psalms compared to that in the manuscripts found in Cave 4 are as follows (with consecutive arrangement indicated by →):²⁸²

4QPs^a:²⁸³ Psalm 31 → 33;²⁸⁴ 38 → 71²⁸⁵

4QPs^b:²⁸⁶ Psalm 103 → 112

4QPs^d: Psalm 106(?)²⁸⁷ → 147 → 104

4QPs^e:²⁸⁸ Psalm 118(?) → 104 [+ 147] → 105 → 146(?)

4QPs^k: Psalm 135[+ ??] → 99²⁸⁹

²⁸¹ DJD 16.

²⁸² Flint 1997, 254.

²⁸³ The complete contents of the preserved and identified fragments include psalms from Pss 5 to 71, arranged in a different order from their MT arrangement. For the contents of the fragments and the sequence of psalms, see DJD 16, 8–9; Flint 1997, 257–258. The manuscript is written in prose format and is dated paleographically to the mid-second century BCE (DJD 16, 8, 9), hence representing the oldest psalm scroll with “the possible exception of” (DJD 16, 8) 4QPs^x, which has been dated to sometime between 175 and 125 BCE; cf. Flint 1997, 33.

²⁸⁴ DJD 16, 9: “[...] Psalm 31 is directly followed by Psalm 33 (as also in 4QPs^q). Psalm 38 is followed by Psalm 71 continuing on the same line with virtually no interval, which indicates that these were considered one Psalm.”

²⁸⁵ DJD 16, 9: “[t]he transition from Psalm 38 to 71 may be due to the similarity between Psalms 38 and 70, which are the only two Psalms designated by their superscription as להזכיר (‘for memorial offering’).”

²⁸⁶ For the full content, see DJD 16, 23–25. According to Cross’s paleographic typology, the manuscript was written after the middle of the first century CE (DJD 16, 24).

²⁸⁷ The reconstruction of Ps 106 is not certain, but the amount of space and the combination of preserved letters suggest that the manuscript contains the end of Ps 106 (viz., v. 48), followed directly by Ps 147 and Ps. 104, in this sequence (DJD 16, 63, 66). The script is dated to the mid-first century BCE (64). It is noteworthy that both 4QPs^d and 11QPs^a attest to grouping Pss 104 together with 147, albeit in reverse order (DJD 16, 64).

²⁸⁸ The script is dated to the mid-first century CE. The manuscript has been written in prose format (DJD 16, 74). Textually, it is affiliated with 11QPs^a (against MT). According to DJD 16 (76), the fact that the manuscript contains Pss 114–116 “vindicates Patrick Skehan’s early proposal (‘A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs^a’ *CBQ* 34 [1973] 195–205, esp. 196) that this Psalter included the entire ‘Passover Hallel’ (Psalms 113–118).”

²⁸⁹ It is uncertain what follows Ps 135. Ulrich et al. (2000 [DJD 16], 123) point out that “Psalm 135 could not have been directly followed by Psalm 99 in the original manuscript, since in this wide format col. II would then have contained only nine lines (including three to complete Ps 135:16–21—or ten if there was a blank line between the two Psalms), but there are no clues as to the text that intervened.” The script is dated to the late Hasmonean period—i.e., circa 100–30 BCE.

4QPs^q:²⁹⁰ Psalm 31 → 33²⁹¹

In addition, the finds from Cave 4 include “pesharim” that feature psalms. I will discuss the content of these manuscripts later in this chapter.

Cave 11: The Content, Order, and Division of Psalms in 11QPs^a Compared to Those in the MT

I will now concentrate on one of the psalm scrolls recovered from the Judean Desert briefly mentioned above—namely, 11QPs^a. The entire scroll is 4.112 meters long, but its original length is hard to estimate accurately.²⁹² There are five other fragments (A–E) found in Cave 11 that were later restored to the scroll.²⁹³ Based on paleographic analysis, the manuscript would have been copied between 30 and 50 CE.²⁹⁴ Altogether, 11QPs^a comprises 28 columns, which contain mainly psalms, some of which are so-called biblical psalms known from the Masoretic Psalter and some of which were known already before the Judean desert discoveries in Greek, Latin, and Syriac. The scroll also includes passages of texts other than psalms—namely, a passage from Sirach 51 and a passage from 2 Sam 23:7 (“David’s last words” is placed in 11QPs^a, after the Hymn to the Creator, in column XXVII).

Following the Judean Desert discoveries, previously unknown texts were also brought to light. Some of the texts were known earlier only through ancient translations: Pss 154 and 155 in Syriac, 151A in Greek and in its daughter versions, and Sirach 51:13–30 in Greek, Syriac, and Latin. The newly discovered texts were The Plea for Deliverance (col. XIX), The Apostrophe to Zion (col. XXII), The Hymn

²⁹⁰ The provenance of 4QPs^q is uncertain. Due to similarities with the Nahal Hever scrolls, it has been suggested that this manuscript is originally from Nahal Hever (DJD 16, 145). The script is dated to the late first century BCE or early first century CE (DJD 16, 146).

²⁹¹ This manuscript contains Psalm 33, with a Davidic title that agrees with the LXX against the MT (DJD 16, 146).

²⁹² DJD 4, 4.

²⁹³ DJD 4, 3–21, 155–159; Flint (1997, 189–191) asserts that the scroll originally consisted of 38 columns, 9 of which are preserved only fragmentarily. Three of these columns are entirely reconstructed and six have been preserved in the subsequently found fragments A–E.

²⁹⁴ Flint 1997, 39. This dating was originally proposed by James Sanders (DJD 4, 6–9; 1967, 6).

to the Creator (col. XXVI), and David's Compositions (col. XXVII).²⁹⁵ The scroll consists predominately of psalms that would have belonged to Books IV and V of the Masoretic Psalter. However, these psalms often occur in a different order from that of the MT.²⁹⁶

Based on his study of the psalms manuscripts discovered in the Judean Desert, Peter Flint hypothesizes that Pss 1–89 (= Books I–III) had stabilized during the first century BCE (i.e., before the beginning of the Qumran period, around 150 BCE) and Psalms 90 onwards towards the end of the first century CE.²⁹⁷ Nevertheless, Flint points out that it is unclear where the line between the stabilized and the fluid part of the Psalter should be drawn. Furthermore, it is uncertain whether the Psalter had been divided into books in the late Second Temple period. Flint further claims that at least two versions of the psalms (resembling the proto-MT and 11QPs^a), which both included the latter part of the Psalter, were in circulation in the Second Temple period.²⁹⁸

Agreements with the Septuagint Readings against the Masoretic Text in 11QPs^a

Flint provides a comprehensive list of variant readings from the Judean Desert scrolls that should be taken into consideration when reconstructing the Old Greek psalms text.²⁹⁹ Dahmen arrives at a different view after studying the text of 11QPs^a in

²⁹⁵ Flint 1997, 40. Beside these apocryphal texts, the discoveries of the Judean Desert also include the following: The Apostrophe to Judah and an Eschatological Hymn (4Q88) and Three Songs against Demons (11Q11) (Flint 1997, 48).

²⁹⁶ For the most recent reconstruction of the sequence of the psalms, see Jain 2014, 161–162.

²⁹⁷ Flint 1997, 135, 144–146.

²⁹⁸ Flint (1997, 135, 148–149) bases his view on previous studies by James Sanders (1967, 13, 158). Flint (141) supports this claim with the observation that there are only two deviations with regard to Psalms 1–89 between the Judean Desert psalm scrolls and MT-150—namely, 4Q^a and 4Qⁱ (the conflict concerning the order with Pss 31 → 33) and 4QPs^a (the conflict concerning the order with Pss 38 → 71): “but for Psalms 90 and beyond disagreements with the Received Text are far more extensive, both in terms of the ordering of the material and the presence of compositions not found in the MT-150 Psalter. Variations in content are frequent, where ‘apocryphal’ pieces are joined directly to ‘biblical’ Psalms” (Flint 1997, 141).

²⁹⁹ Flint 1997, 232–236; 2000, 341–343.

comparison with the Masoretic text,³⁰⁰ concluding that 11QPs^a was composed as a manual for the Davidic Messiah, and hence claims that it was compiled as an extension (Fortschreibung) of the proto-Masoretic text. In this sense, he does not see 11QPs^a as important textual critical evidence but instead as evidence of the reception and redaction of the proto-Masoretic Psalter.³⁰¹ Even though his study and conclusions are well established, I cannot agree with Dahmen. It is more plausible that 11QPs^a is not an independent collection—its *Vorlage* might have had affiliations with the Hebrew *Vorlage* behind the LXX.

Many readings attested in the Dead Sea Psalms scrolls agree with the readings of the Septuagint against the Masoretic Text.³⁰² Flint lists the minor as well as the more significant agreements (10 instances) between the LXX and the Dead Sea Psalms scrolls against the Masoretic text. Agreements against the MT in significant aspects are a) the substitution of a verbal or nominal root, b) the addition of superscripts or *halleluyahs* (thanksgivings), c) the addition of phrases or strophes, d) verse division, e) the divine name, f) equivalent word-sounds (onomatopoeia), g) the ending of the Psalter.³⁰³

Flint classifies minor agreements (21 instances) with the Septuagint against the MT into 13 categories: 1) verbal differences in number, 2) verbal differences in mood, 3) verbal differences in person, 4) imperative instead of imperfect,³⁰⁴ 5) differences in

³⁰⁰ He formulates his task as follows: “[...] nachdem Jahrzehnte über den Text geredet und geschrieben wurde und Verständnis- und Interpretationsansätze von außen an ihn herangetragen wurden und ihm Globalthesen übergestülpt wurden, soll nun *der Text selbst* sich ansprechen dürfen: Welche Textformen bietet er? In welchem (Abhängigkeits-)Verhältnis steht diese konkrete Textform zu anderen Texten und Versionen? Welche Aussagen macht der Text – insbesondere in den Varianten? Wo und wie verschieben sich Aussagelienien gegenüber Vergleichstexte wie den Psalmen der MT-Textform?” (Dahmen 2003, 23, emphasis his).

³⁰¹ Dahmen 2003, 313–318.

³⁰² Flint 1997, 232.

³⁰³ Flint 1997, 233–235. Interestingly, Swete ([1902] 1968, 253) notes in his introduction to the Old Testament in Greek that although “there is no evidence Ps 151 ever existed in Hebrew”—Swete did not have access to the Judean Desert finds, which proved that Ps 151 in fact existed in Hebrew—the resemblance of the psalm to other LXX passages (1 Kings 16:7, 11, 26, 43, 51; 2 Kings 6:5; 2 Chron 29:26; Pss 78:70 and 89:20) on which Swete sees that the psalm is based, “is not so close as to suggest as Greek original [...]”. Furthermore, Swete (252) notes that the psalm is “carefully excluded from the Psalter proper” (with the subscription “ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΠΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΙΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ Α”) in Codex Alexandrinus.

³⁰⁴ Flint (2000, 341–342) admits that, in some cases, the verbal form of the Greek aorist imperative could have been translated from either Hebrew imperative or imperfect and thus the case of Ps 70(71):2

tense, 6) nominal differences in number (singular or plural), 7) construct plural instead of absolute singular forms, 7) the addition of a conjunction, 8) the omission of a conjunction, 9) addition or omission of suffixes, 10) omission of particles, 11) differences in preposition use, 12) addition of prepositions, and 13) addition or omission of the article.³⁰⁵

2.2.2. Conclusions Regarding the Psalm Manuscripts from the Judean Desert Compared to the MT Psalms

I have shown above that the Psalms scrolls found in the Judean Desert differ substantially from the MT-150 with regard to the sequence of the psalms. This raises the following questions: since these manuscripts antedate the earliest manuscripts of MT-150 (Codex Leningradensis, 1008 CE; Aleppo Codex, 10th century CE), do these psalm compositions serve as witnesses to earlier states of the compositional arrangement of the psalms? Regardless of the existing evidence, some scholars (Skehan, Talmon, Goshen-Gottstein, and Dahmen) have argued that the MT-150 already enjoyed primary status at the time of the “Qumranic Psalter” (by which name the 11QPs^a arrangement of psalms is sometimes referred to), which would have served as a supplement to the “Biblical Psalter” or as a “synagogue Psalter,” an “incipient prayer-book.”³⁰⁶

I turn next to a discussion of the status of psalms during the late Second Temple period, in which 11QPs^a will be understood as representing an independent composition of psalms and other texts, thus serving as a witness to the different sequencing of the psalms during the Qumran period. Naturally, there are other fragments found in the Judean Desert (e.g., MasPs^b)³⁰⁷ that do not contradict the MT

is difficult to interpret: the MT reads תַּעֲלֶינִי (imperfect), whereas 4QPs^a reads הַעֲלֵנִי (imperative). Flint seems to be inclined to see the LXX reading ῥῶσαί με as agreeing with 4QPs^a against the MT, since he gives Ps 70(71):2 as an example of agreement against MT. On the translation technique of the LXX and verbal tenses, see Voiteda 1996. Translating tense is particularly fluid in the psalms since the context does not usually help the translator determine the time and duration of a given action.

³⁰⁵ Flint 1997, 232–233. For examples of variant readings concerning these categories, see Flint 2000, 341.

³⁰⁶ See, e.g., Skehan 1973, 195, 205; Talmon 1989, 211; Dahmen 2003, 15.

³⁰⁷ The manuscript preserves only Ps 147:18–19 and 150:1–6. At the end of Ps 150 is a blank column, prompting many scholars to argue that this indicates the end of the entire collection of psalms, thus

Psalter psalm sequence, but this might be due to the fragmentary state of the manuscripts. In the following chapter, based on the manuscript evidence discussed above, I will deal with questions concerning the status and use of these texts among the communities that produced and/or copied the manuscripts during the late Second Temple period.

following the Masoretic order of the 150 psalms (Flint 2014, 238). See Pajunen 2014, 144, for a discussion of other MSS that might attest to the Masoretic order.

3 The Status, Use, and Reception of Psalms in the Late Second Temple Period

3.1. The Status of Psalms in the Late Second Temple Period

The aim of this chapter is to evaluate the interpretive practices of sacred scriptures—particularly of psalms—in sources from the late Second Temple period other than Paul’s letters. First, I briefly describe the status of the psalms among different communities in the Second Temple period. Second, I investigate the use of psalms in liturgical and educational settings as well as their prophetic uses. As a preface to this discussion, I will first define “sacred” and “authoritative” scriptures/texts, terms often used in the discussion of the status of ancient texts. These terms have replaced the more biased term “biblical” or “canonical” texts. Finally, I will also offer some observations on the limitations of the use of these terms.

3.1.1. *Defining “Sacred” and “Authoritative” Scriptures/Texts*

In scholarship, it has become customary to signify the scriptures later integrated into the canon of the Hebrew Bible as “authoritative” for the communities that read and transmitted (through copying and interpreting) the texts.³⁰⁸ After the discoveries of the Judean Desert, this term has largely replaced the anachronistic term “canonical,” which was common in previous studies and still is among some scholars.³⁰⁹ Rather than describing a collection of books (as the term “canon” does), the term “authoritative scripture” is a useful designation for the texts that were regarded highly and transmitted before the stabilization of the Hebrew Bible.³¹⁰ Used in this respect,

³⁰⁸ Brooke 2005, 86–87; 2011, 14. See especially the studies listed in Brooke 2011, 14 n. 5.

³⁰⁹ See, e.g., Brevard Childs (Childs 1979, 58, 63), for whom the term misleadingly refers “to the binding authority of the collection of texts,” as George Brooke (2011, 14) puts it.

³¹⁰ For its use in this sense, see, e.g., Lim 2013, 4.

the term “authoritative” does not refer to the collection but rather to the status that is ascribed to the text by the community that uses it. In this vein, George Brooke emphasizes that scholars should not seek to find the emergence of the “canon” but rather investigate how the authority of a text functions in a given community. In other words, the canon should not be observed as a form but rather as a function.³¹¹ This understanding can be cultivated by accounting for how texts are transmitted, interpreted, and quoted in a community.

Hence, authoritative scripture in the sense of belonging to a collection of sacred texts is only one aspect of authoritativeness.³¹² Namely, concerning psalms, there was a certain degree of flexibility regarding the collection until and even after the turn of the Common Era.³¹³ This can be observed particularly in 11QPs^a, which attests to a different order of the psalms than the proto-Masoretic book of Psalms. Notwithstanding, the Qumran text seems to have enjoyed an authoritative status among the Qumran community.

The concept of authority is always relational and thus carries with it social aspects.³¹⁴ Namely, it is important to recognize that the texts themselves do not contain any authority, rather, it is always a human agent, whether an individual or a community of individuals, that renders a text authoritative. However, the process of becoming an authoritative text is a reciprocal one: just as an individual may use a text that might already have “some amount of authority” to build his or her own authority,³¹⁵ so does the text accumulate authority with each repeated use (e.g., as a source of ethical instructions).³¹⁶

The term “authoritative” can also refer to the divine aspect of the text for its reader—that is, “authoritative” can signal the divine agent behind the text. This is, however, a later label, since the understanding in modern research of all scriptural

³¹¹ Cf. Brooke 2011, 22.

³¹² On the other hand, John Barton has sought to distinguish between the terms “canon” and “scripture,” the former referring to a collection of certain books, the latter to an authoritative character of a certain text or texts among a given community. Barton uses the early Christian community as his example (Barton 1993, 29–30).

³¹³ See sub-chapter 2.2.

³¹⁴ von Weissenberg 2014, 690–693.

³¹⁵ Brooke 2005, 96.

³¹⁶ Brooke 2005, 96; Brooke 2011, 24. Cf. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971, 177.

texts as “authoritative” or “inspired” for the late Second Temple period or the New Testament authors originates from 2 Tim 3:16a (“All scripture is inspired by God”)³¹⁷ and seem not to designate Paul’s attitude towards scripture.³¹⁸ Moreover, it is noteworthy that the term “authoritative” is not itself used in the ancient sources, nor does Paul explicitly say that scripture is divinely inspired. Rather, in Rom 1:2, Paul uses the term “sacred scriptures” (γραφαί ἁγίαι) when he declares that the Gospel of God (v. 1) was promised beforehand *through his prophets in sacred scriptures* (v. 2, διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις, emphasis mine). Hence, Paul emphasizes that the divine message is transmitted through scriptures, which he attributes as being sacred.

As a further nuance, the texts that would later constitute the Hebrew Bible were not considered equally authoritative during the Second Temple period. The process of the formation of the HB lasted from the middle of the Second Temple period into as far as the first century CE.³¹⁹ The other texts—for instance, the Pentateuch—were considered (in the second/first century BCE) more authoritative than others, such as

³¹⁷ Brooke 2011, 22.

³¹⁸ Scripture as divinely inspired speech relates to the construction of ancient prophecy, and hence to the understanding of a *message* being divinely inspired, a notion which is present in my sources. Notably, Paul himself also uses the Greek word προφητεύω and its cognates in referring to a process of interpreting a divine message and transmitting it to an audience as a desirable phenomenon in his congregations (see, e.g., Rom 12:6; 1 Cor 11:4, 5; 12:10, 29, 13:2, 9; 14:1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 22, 24, 31, 39; 1 Thess 5:20). Ancient prophecy is defined by Manfred Weippert (cited in Nissinen 2019, 57) as a process of divine-human communication, where the following components are present: 1) the divine sender of the message, 2) the message, 3) the transmitter of the message (the prophet), and 4) the recipient of the message. For a discussion of closed canons which can be associated with the so-called cessation of prophecy and the absence of the divine voice in the community, cf. Brooke 2005, 97–98. Brooke (98) surmises that in several texts belonging to Qumran material, a divine agent appears to be understood as delivering the texts. The notion of the cessation of prophecy is nevertheless a later rabbinic view, as attested in t. Soṭah 13:2: “[w]hen the last prophets—that is, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi—died, the holy spirit ceased in Israel” (cited in Lim 2013, 7). Furthermore, during the tannaitic period, distinctions were made between inspired canonical and uninspired canonical books: not all the books listed as canonical were viewed as carrying divine inspiration (Leiman 1976, 14–15); cited in Lim (2013, 5), who views Leiman’s distinction as untenable.

³¹⁹ Brooke 2011, 17. In previous scholarship until the 1970s, it had become customary to view the canonization process as having taken place in three stages: first, the Pentateuch had become fixed sometime around 500 BCE, followed by the Prophets in the fourth or third century BCE, and finally the Writings in 90 CE (cited in Lim 2013, 13). Nevertheless, there was no such collection of books that all Jews would have considered authoritative (Lim 2013, 13–14). For a detailed survey of the research history, see Lange 2004, 59.

the psalms and the other books now collected in the Writings.³²⁰ Nevertheless, it is unclear at which point of time in that process the psalms gained authoritative status in Jewish communities. The discussion partly relates to the debate over when the tripartite division of scripture (the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings) emerged.³²¹ Paul's quotations from and references to the psalms can shed light on this question,³²² as Paul seems to have considered psalms as equally authoritative as the Pentateuch and the Prophets. He uses psalms as a source for teaching about ethical life, ancestral history, and Christ's messianic nature.³²³

3.1.2. Evidence from Qumran: Different Collections of Psalms and Their Authority

Before assessing the question of the reception of psalms in the late Second Temple period, I will define which collection(s) of psalm literature is (or are) under investigation and explore how collections can also serve as evidence for the use (e.g., transmission, reception, re-writing) of psalms.³²⁴ In the following sub-section, I will estimate the authoritative status of psalms based on the evidence from the Judean Desert.

The discoveries of the Judean Desert evinced the plurality of the psalms marking a paradigm shift in scholarship from attempting to trace how the “book of Psalms” was shaped to a more complex picture of its evolution, overturning previous notions

³²⁰ Jassen 2014, 50–57.

³²¹ For a detailed survey of the discussion, see, e.g., Brooke 2011, 17–21; Lange 2004, 58–60. The theory of the tripartite canonization process was originally posed by Graetz (1871), Buhl (1891) and Wildeboer (1895). (Cited in Lange 2004, 59).

³²² Cf. especially Brooke 2011, 24.

³²³ Cf. secs. 5.2 and 6.3 in this study. The formulation in Rom 1:2 cited above may indicate that Paul considered the category of “prophets” to comprise all the “sacred scriptures” of which “the Prophets” and “the Writings” were formed separately in later period (i.e., in the late first century CE). Cf., e.g., Brooke (2011, 20), who argues that during the late Second Temple period and early Roman period, the texts from the Judean Desert, by Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament attest to an understanding of two groups of scriptures: the Law and the Prophets, the latter comprising also those texts that were later labelled as “the Writings.”

³²⁴ The question of the formation of the Book of Psalms is beyond the scope of this study. For a survey of the research history on this topic, see Willgren 2016, 1–19. For a seminal study on this subject, see Wilson 1985. What is relevant concerning the study at hand is the status of the psalms as observed in their use and reception during the late Second Temple period.

that Psalms was a fixed canonical collection already in the first century CE. What was the status of the Psalter (or psalms and poetic compositions in general) in the late Second Temple period and in the Qumran community in particular? What role did psalms and prayer have in their worship and in the devotional life of the community?³²⁵

The considerable number of psalms manuscripts found in the Judean Desert prompted earlier scholars to consider the *book* of Psalms as having enjoyed elevated importance within the Qumran community.³²⁶ However, the vast number of psalm manuscripts, some of which contain only one psalm and a few of which contain larger collections of psalms, simply suggests that psalms were used for many different purposes. Namely, psalms were used both in private and in communal gatherings to function as prayers, sources of spiritual meditation, and reservoirs of historical knowledge. According to Pajunen, the Qumran psalm manuscripts that comprise collections of various sizes and contents serve as evidence of the plurality of uses for psalms, since different functions would have merited the composition of different collections.³²⁷

Furthermore, as noted above, the different sequences of individual psalms among the discoveries of the Judean Desert compared to the known order of the MT and LXX Psalters has sparked lively scholarly discussion over the status of these different collections among the communities at Qumran. Especially the large manuscript 11QPs^a containing 49 psalms familiar from the fourth and fifth book of the MT Psalter in addition to 11 psalms not included in the MT or LXX Psalters has been ground-breaking for scholarship.³²⁸ Scholars have further questioned whether 11QPs^a

³²⁵ On the relationship between Qumran prayer texts and the Temple, see Falk 2000. See also Talmon 1989, whose theory Falk (2000, 108) criticizes since “we cannot simply repeat unproven assumptions that institutionalized prayer originated as an alternative for sacrifice.” That is, the abundance of the prayer texts found at Qumran may not plainly imply that “institutionalized prayer originated as a substitute for the Temple” (106). Nevertheless, there are also explicit references in the Qumran prayers that imply that prayers could have functioned as substitutes for meat offerings—e.g., 11QPs^a col. XXVII lines 2–11 David’s Compositions: “to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt *tamid* offering every day. [...]” See also Penner 2012.

³²⁶ See the discussion on p. 65 above.

³²⁷ Pajunen 2014, 142, 144.

³²⁸ For a survey of the impact of the psalm manuscripts recovered from the Judean Desert on the understanding of how the subsequent book of Psalms came to be shaped, see Mroczek 2016, 25–26. A

is a secondary collection dependent on the proto-Masoretic text or if it is an independent collection. Some scholars have suggested that it was used in a liturgical context, as a “library collection” (Skehan),³²⁹ or as a “sectarian collection” (Goshen-Gottstein). Others propose that it is an independent collection that enjoyed a status of prestige in its community (e.g., Sanders; Flint).

James Sanders (1974) views 11QPs^a as an authoritative collection that was compiled at Qumran and which was independent of the proto-Masoretic text. In an earlier publication, he states that the weight of the authority attached to David “would bring the Psalms the same respect which the Law and Prophets commanded.”³³⁰ He further suggests that there would have been at least two different psalm collections in the Judean Desert during the so-called Qumran period,³³¹ MasPs^b representing the proto-Masoretic version of the Psalter and 11QPs^a being an independent collection. He challenges the former view set out by Talmon (1966) and Goshen-Gottstein (1966), who claimed that 11QPs^a was unauthoritative since it would have been “a library excerpt” or had some liturgical purpose.³³² On the contrary, later scholars have observed that these possibilities do not necessarily betray the authoritative degree of the collection.³³³ Goshen-Gottstein also claimed that 11QPs^a should be described as a “sectarian collection” dependent on a “sectarian Solar-calendar.” Nevertheless, even though the Qumran community is seen as a sect, it appears that 11QPs^a enjoyed authoritative status among this community. In addition, in more recent scholarship, the provenance of the text of 11QPs^a as merely Qumranic has been called into question, as it has been suggested—and Flint himself has later agreed³³⁴—that, even

brief discussion of the content of the Qumran MSS containing psalms is given in sub-section 2.2.1. Here, I focus on the function of these psalms based on the manuscript evidence.

³²⁹ According to Dahmen (2003, 19), the point that “the canonical Masoretic Psalter itself is largely a liturgical collection” (asserted by Flint 1997, 209) does not contradict the claim that 11QPs^a would have been a secondary collection dependent on the proto-Masoretic Psalter.

³³⁰ Sanders 1967, 157.

³³¹ For a definition of “the Qumran period,” cf. VanderKam 1999 501–507.

³³² Skehan (1973) further asserts that the scroll contains six liturgical compositions.

³³³ Jain 2014, 16; Pajunen 2014; Mroczek 2016. Ulrich (2000, 325) even claims that the psalm manuscripts were written in Jerusalem. On the other hand, Tov (2008, 421–423) considers all psalm scrolls found at Cave 11 to attest to the Qumran scribal practice on the basis of the habit of Qumran scribes to write the tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew script, orthography, and morphology.

³³⁴ As for the provenance of 11QPs^a, Flint suggests in his 1997 monograph that “11QPs^a was compiled at Qumran and thus may be termed the ‘Qumran Psalter’” (Flint 1997, 8). Cf. idem 2014, 236.

though the manuscript was copied at Qumran, its text might still have been compiled outside Qumran and might have circulated more widely. Hence, the composition might originate from an earlier period and might have been in circulation more broadly than the Qumran community.³³⁵

In sum, Peter Flint, reasserting Sanders's hypothesis, posits a thesis that can be abbreviated into the following points:

- 1) *Gradual Stabilization*: 11QPs^a witnesses a Psalter that was being gradually stabilized, from beginning to end.
- 2) *Textual Affiliations*: Two or more Psalters are represented among the scrolls from the Judean Desert.
- 3) *Status*: 11QPs^a contains the latter part of a true scriptural Psalter. It is not a secondary collection that is dependent upon Psalms 1–150, as found in the Received Text [=MT].³³⁶

Thus, it can be concluded that at least three different large editions of psalms were in circulation during the late Second Temple period: 1) an early edition comprising texts starting from Psalm 1 or 2, ending with Psalm 89 or 92; 2) the 11QPs^a Psalter, which features texts from Pss 77–144 in a different order from that in the 150-MT Psalter as well as containing psalms not included among the MT-150 Psalms;³³⁷ 3) the 150-MT Psalter, though it is worth noting that the arrangement of this edition as an entirety is not securely confirmed by any manuscript found in the Judean Desert.³³⁸

³³⁵ Jain 2014, 15.

³³⁶ Flint 1997, 8. I have omitted the original third point concerning the provenance of the text since Flint himself (2014, 236) has changed his view on the matter. Jain (2014, 22–23) paraphrases Flint's hypothesis as follows: 1) there were three versions of the Psalter that were found in the Judean Desert: a) a partial collection containing Pss 1–89 in the order that appears in 4Q83 and 4Q85 (Edition I), b) a composition of Pss 1–89 and 90–150 in the order that appears in 11QPs^a (11Q5), 11Q6, and 4Q87 (Edition IIa), c) a collection of Pss 1–89 and 90–150 in the order that appeared in the later Masoretic text (MasPs^a) (Edition IIb); 2) 11QPs^a (11Q5) is dated paleographically to sometime between the years 30–50 CE, though the existence of David's Composition in 11Q5 indicates that it (11Q5) is of pre-Qumran origin; 3) 11Q5 is a "Schriftpsalter" (Jain 2014, 23), not a secondary collection, and is paralleled by 11Q6 and 4Q87.

³³⁷ For criticism of the term "apocryphal" psalms, often used in this context, see Flint 1997, 16–17.

³³⁸ Flint 2014, 240.

The Status of 11QPs^a as an Example

As has been suggested, the Qumran community considered the Pentateuch and the Prophets to be authoritative,³³⁹ and 11QPs^a appears to contribute to this conception, seeming as it does to emphasize the prophetic nature of David, who is styled as the author of 3,600 psalms and 450 songs—4,050 in total (11QPs^a XXVII, 4–5)—and as having spoken them through prophecy (בגבויה, 11QPs^a XXVII, 11).³⁴⁰ In addition, 11QPs^a contains Ps 151, which was earlier known only from ancient translations and which describes David as a psalmist.³⁴¹

Especially the material that was unknown prior to the discovery of Cave 11—namely, the so-called David’s Composition—have raised the suggestion of the “Davidization” of the “Qumranic Psalter.” According to Flint, the Davidic emphasis in 11QPs^a occurs especially in sequences that deviate from the MT Psalter. For instance, Ps 133, with its Davidic superscript, is located in the “Mostly Supplication” group (in the following psalm sequence: 141 → 133 → 144 → 155 → 142 → 143). Another example of this kind of Davidic cluster is the psalm sequence 103 → 109 → [110], each of which begins with Davidic superscripts. Further, Flint suggests that 11QPs^a originally contained 52 Psalms—due to the solar calendar being divided into 52 weeks in a year—in addition to four works that seem to affirm Davidic authorship of the entire document.³⁴²

The role of David is unique in both the Qumran material (e.g., 4QPs^c consisting of Ps 104:1, albeit reconstructed) and in the Septuagint (e.g., LXX Pss 42:1; 90:1; 92:1). Additionally, Paul’s letters seem to imply that the role of David in the superscriptions of and attributions to the psalms increased during the late Second

³³⁹ Cf., e.g., CD 16:2, which describes the Torah as that wherein “all things are strictly defined.” In 1QS I, 1–3, the aim of the members of the Qumran community is said to be “to seek God with a whole heart and soul, and to do what is good and right before him, as he commanded by the hand of Moses and all his servants and prophets.”

³⁴⁰ Flint 1997, 224. Cf. Mroczek 2016, 34.

³⁴¹ The superscription of Ps 151:1 according to its LXX text depicts David as an author of this psalm (οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυιδ καὶ ἐξώθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὅτε ἐμονομάχησεν τῷ Γολιὰθ). Moreover, in v. 2 the psalmist (i.e., David according to the superscription) describes himself as a musician (“My hands made an instrument; my fingers tuned a harp [ψαλτήριον]”, NETS Ps 151:2 LXX).

³⁴² Flint 1997, 192–195.

Temple period. When he quotes psalms, Paul mentions David twice,³⁴³ indicating that he attributes the authorship of the psalms to David in these two instances at the least. It is uncertain, however, whether Paul attributed the authorship of the whole of the psalms to David.³⁴⁴

Flint concludes that there seems to be a correlation between the fluidity of the collection of psalms and the absence of superscriptions: at least within Pss 1–89 (Books I–III), superscriptions are missing when the division or order of the particular psalms is in flux. It is more speculative to claim the same for psalms belonging to Books IV–V.³⁴⁵ In Books I–III of the MT Psalms, only Pss 1, 2, 10, 33, 43, and 71 lack a superscription. Similarly, in the scrolls found in the Judean Desert, superscriptions are rarely lacking in Books I–III, absent only from Pss 31 and 33 of 4Q^a and 4Q^q³⁴⁶ as well as from Pss 38 and 71 of 4QPs^a.³⁴⁷ The Davidic superscript was probably lacking also from Ps 104:1 in 4QPs^d.³⁴⁸

I turn next to a discussion of the use of psalms during the late Second Temple period, which I evaluate by investigating the quotations from and interpretative techniques of the psalms.

³⁴³ Namely in Rom 4:6 referring to Ps 31(32), and Rom 11:9 referring to Ps 68(69). Both of these psalms have a Davidic superscription. See note 134 above on p. 30.

³⁴⁴ In previous research, it was often taken for granted that early Jewish and Christian authors viewed King David as the author of the psalms (based on the depiction of 1 Sam 16 and 23; LXX Ps 151). See, e.g. Fitzmyer 1992, 375 and Dunn 1988, 205. However, the situation has since become more complicated following the discovery of the manuscripts at the Judean Desert, which, on the one hand, bears witness to the rise in popularity of David. In 11QPs^a (col. XXVII), David is portrayed as a great author and is said to have composed 4,050 psalms and songs in total. On the other hand, scholars have also emphasized that the attribution to David does not necessarily add to the authorial value of any given text. Rather, attributing a text to a certain figure develops the authority of that figure. See, e.g., Mroczek 2016, 16: “Davidic attribution is not a piece of religious dogma that asserts the literal authorship of the book of Psalms, but an aesthetic, poetic, and honorific act that celebrates an ancient hero and lets him inhabit new literary homes” (Mroczek 2016, 16; see further 51ff). An interesting example towards this point is to be found in Philo, who views David explicitly as a prophet and implicitly as the author of the Davidic psalms. For more on Philo’s usage of the psalms, see Leonhardt 2001, esp. 142–148.

³⁴⁵ Flint 1997, 149.

³⁴⁶ Flint (1997, 147) points out that, due to the fragmentary state of 4QPs^a and 4QPs^q, which are the only scrolls from Qumran containing parts of both Pss 31 and 33, it is impossible to conclude whether Ps 32 was followed by Ps 31. However, spacing does indicate that Ps 33 did not have a superscript.

³⁴⁷ Flint 1997, 146.

³⁴⁸ DJD 16, 65, 68. Nevertheless, the superscript is attested in the same psalm in 11QPs^a and probably also in 4QPs^e.

3.2. The Use of Psalms during the Late Second Temple Period

The aim of this section is to analyze the explicit interpretive practices concerning psalms in both the documents recovered from the Judean desert (*Pesharim*, *Catena*, *Florilegium*) and early Jewish sources contemporary to Paul (e.g., Philo of Alexandria, Josephus). In addition, I will briefly discuss the implicit use of psalms in the hymnic or poetic texts (*Hodayot*, *Barkī Nafshi*) that were also found in the Judean Desert as well as the apocryphal Psalms of Solomon. I will then turn to a topic already referred to in the introduction of this study—namely, what the use of psalms in worship reveals about liturgy in the Second Temple period.

3.2.1. *The Use of Psalms in Ethical Teaching and as Prophecy: Explicit Citations of Psalms in the Qumran Material*

In the following section, I compare Paul's techniques of explicit citation to those in the manuscripts recovered from Qumran that attest scriptural interpretation that makes a clear distinction between the quoted text and its interpretation. This practice suggests that the text interpreted enjoyed authoritative status within the community that read it. These types of texts recovered from Qumran are labelled *pesharim*.

The Pesharim

Qumran *pesharim* are beneficial comparanda to Paul's explicit use of psalms since quotations from psalms are explicitly marked with an interpretation formula in both sources. The word *peshar* (plural *pesharim*) derives from the Hebrew noun פֶּשֶׁר “interpretation” or its suffixed form פֶּשְׁרוֹ “its interpretation is...,” which is formulaically used to introduce an interpretation of a scriptural quotation.³⁴⁹ Reinhard Kratz describes that the form of the Qumran *pesharim* is similar to that of modern

³⁴⁹ For the citation formulae (באשר, כִּי־אֵשֶׁר אֵשֶׁר אָמַר, וְאֵשֶׁר אָמַר, כְּתוּב, and וְאֵשֶׁר כְּתוּב) introducing scriptural citation in *pesharim*, see Bernstein (1992, 33) 2013b, esp. 637. For an introduction to the *pesharim*, see, e.g., Lim 2002, 13–15.

commentaries: a citation of a verse or passage from scripture is followed by an interpretation introduced by a formulaic expression like פשרו “its interpretation is.”³⁵⁰

The *pesharim* of Qumran comprise two parts: the *base text* cited in quotation and the *supporting text* following the quotation, often introduced by the word פשר.³⁵¹

Scholars often categorize *pesharim* as either continuous or thematic.³⁵² A continuous *peshar* comprises a series of scriptural quotations that follow the sequence of the quoted passage, whereas a thematic *peshar* quotes eclectically from different scriptural texts of a shared theme.³⁵³

According to Timothy Lim, the term *peshar* is used in Qumran scrolls in three different functions: first, it represents an interpretation formula for continuous and, second, for thematic *pesharim*. Third, “the technical term is used to interpret a concept or biblical law, rather than a verbatim quotation of a scriptural text”³⁵⁴ (e.g., 4Q180, 4Q464, 4Q159). In addition, the term *peshar* is used as an abstraction of modern scholarship to designate a literary genre.³⁵⁵ Lim notes that since *peshar* denotes a wide range of different phenomena, both in the sources and in scholarly abstraction, “[...] what is commonly described as ‘peshar’ could alternatively be understood as a collection of multiple pesharite interpretations that comment on larger or smaller portions of the biblical texts.”³⁵⁶ Therefore, Lim suggests that although there are similarities between Paul’s interpretation methods and those of the Qumran *pesharim*—such as Paul’s use of the formula “its [interpretation] is... (τοῦτ’ ἔστιν... in Rom 9:8 and 10:6),” Paul’s method should rather be labelled as “pesharistic” or “pesharite” interpretation.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁰ Kratz 2014, 215.

³⁵¹ Lim 1997, 130; Willgren Davage 2019, 226. This categorization originates from Jean Carmignac.

³⁵² Bernstein ([1992, 34] 2013b, 638) challenges the use of this terminology, since it seems to retroject modern standards and a later canonical view on ancient texts. To illustrate the problem, Bernstein cites 4QpPs^a, which is not a thematic *peshar*, but since its citation moves directly from Ps 37 to Ps 45—i.e. not in the order now stabilized in the MT Psalter—it also can not be classified as a continuous *peshar*. Bernstein thus comments that “the differences between the ‘thematic’ and ‘continuous’ *pesharim* are more apparent than real” ([34] 638).

³⁵³ See, e.g., Lim 2002, 14–18. Cf. Willgren Davage 2019, 226–227.

³⁵⁴ Lim 1997, 131.

³⁵⁵ Lim 1997, 132.

³⁵⁶ Lim 1997, 132–133.

³⁵⁷ Lim 1997, 134, 139.

Pieter B. Hartog has studied the Qumran *pesharim* in comparison with Greek Alexandrian school commentaries, *hypomnemata*, on Homer's *Iliad*.³⁵⁸ He states that *hypomnemata* and *pesharim* "originate from similar kinds of intellectual communities"³⁵⁹ and that "the Peshar exegetes were familiar with Alexandrian textual scholarship."³⁶⁰ However, Hartog concludes that the Alexandrian commentary practice does not correspond with all aspects attested in Qumran *pesharim* and further rejects the claim that Qumran *pesharim* were influenced only by the Alexandrian school and not, for instance, by Mesopotamian oneirocritical writings.³⁶¹ Hartog reminds his reader that it is inaccurate to talk about "Jewish," "Near Eastern," and "Greek" traditions during the Hellenistic period. Rather, one should focus on the "interconnectivity and interdependence of the manifold cultures" within the period.³⁶²

In earlier studies, the prevailing view was that, in Qumran, only *pesharim* for prophetic books and psalms have been preserved.³⁶³ However, as Armin Lange points out, the composition of 4Q177 and its quotation technique show that the psalms seem to have commanded the same degree of authority as Deuteronomy and 2 Samuel.³⁶⁴ Furthermore, 11QMelch³⁶⁵ provides an interesting parallel to Paul's use of different scriptural quotations since it likewise combines the Pentateuchal books, the prophetic texts, and the psalm texts (cf. Rom 10:18–20 where Paul quotes from Ps 18[19]:5, Deut 32:21, and Isa 65:1). Pentateuchal books are quoted on lines 2 (Lev 25:13) and 4 (Deut 15:2), and, on line 10, Ps 82:1 is cited with the quotation formula "as is written about him in the songs of David, who said" (lines 9–10). In addition, Ps 7:8–9 is

³⁵⁸ Hartog 2017.

³⁵⁹ Hartog 2017, 43.

³⁶⁰ Hartog 2017, 293.

³⁶¹ Hartog 2017, 16.

³⁶² Hartog 2017, 17.

³⁶³ Lange 2004, 93. The psalms functioned as base texts for interpreting divine messages, as the *pesharim* found at Qumran show. The following MSS contain interpretations of psalms: 1QpPs (1Q16, interpreting MT Ps 68), 4QpPs^a (4Q171, interpreting MT Ps 37 and 4QpPs^b (4Q173, interpreting MT Ps 129). Cf. Bernstein (1992, 34) 2013b, 638. According to Flint (1997, 46), 4QpPs^a (4Q171) preserves fragments of *pesharim* and quotations from Pss 37, 45, 60 // 108, and 4QpPs^b (4Q173) contains *pesharim* and quotations from Pss 127, 129, 118(?), 27(?), 20.

³⁶⁴ Lange 2004, 102. Cf. Steudel, 1994, 133.

³⁶⁵ DJD 23 (11QMelch).

quoted on the following line. The *peshet* follows the quotation on line 12, where the MS reads “the interpretation of it (פֶּשֶׁר) concerns Belial.”³⁶⁶

However, more recent studies have shown that there are also MSS in which quotations of psalms predominate: 4Q174 (the so-called Florilegium or 4QMidrash on Eschatology^a, quoting 1 Sam 7:10–11; Exod 15:17–18; 2 Sam 7:11, 13–14; Amos 9:11; Ps 1:1; Isa 8:11; Ezek 37:23; and Ps 2:1–2)³⁶⁷ and 4Q177 (the so-called Catena A or 4QMidrash on Eschatology^b, quoting Deut 7:15; Isa 37:30; 32:7; Ps 11:1–3; 12:1, 7; 5:10 (?); and Isa 22:13).³⁶⁸

These two manuscripts (4Q174 and 4Q177) have been reconstructed as a single text: 4QMidrEschat^{a,b}.³⁶⁹ The reconstruction of the content and order of the manuscripts are still being debated, and it is beyond the scope of this study to provide an in-depth analysis of the reconstruction. In what follows, I rely on Annette Steudel’s³⁷⁰ reconstruction of 4QMidrEschat^{a,b} and David Willgren Davage’s analysis of the function of each quotation identified in the manuscripts.³⁷¹ In this text, psalms function as the base text for interpretation, which indicates their status of prestige. Moreover, these base texts are accompanied by a supporting text, mainly from the Prophetic texts, is intended to aid the interpretation. The following table describing the base and supporting texts of 4QMidrEschat^{a,b} is also borrowed from Willgren Davage:³⁷²

| Base texts | Supporting texts |
|------------|-----------------------|
| Ps 1:1 | Isa 8:11; Ezek 37:23 |
| Ps 2:1–2 | Dan 12:10; 11:33b, 35 |

³⁶⁶ In addition, 11QMelch uses the quotation formula “[through Isajiah, the prophet who said]” on line 15, quoting from Isa 52:7. Paul quotes this same verse in Rom 10:15. For an analysis, see Kujanpää 2019, 173–179.

³⁶⁷ For the earliest edition of both MSS, see DJD 5.

³⁶⁸ Steudel 1994, 129. See further Brooke 1985, 2011. For other MSS containing interpretations of psalms, see 4QpPs^a (4Q171), which preserves fragments of *pesharim* and quotations from Pss 37, 45, 60 // 108; and 4QpPs^b (4Q173), which contains *pesharim* and quotations from Pss 127, 129, 118(?), 27(?), 20. Flint 1997, 46.

³⁶⁹ Steudel 1994; Willgren Davage 2019. Both MSS are dated to the second half of the first century BCE.

³⁷⁰ Steudel 1994.

³⁷¹ Willgren Davage 2019.

³⁷² Willgren Davage 2019, 231.

| | |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ps 5:3 (placing of fragment uncertain) | Isa 65:22–23 (?) (placing of fragment uncertain) ³⁷³ |
| Ps 10? | Isa 37:30; 32:7 |
| Ps 11:1–2 | Mic 2:10–11 |
| Ps 12:1 | Isa 27:11 (?); Jer 6:14 (?); Isa 22:13 ³⁷⁴ |
| Ps 12:7 | Zech 3:9 |
| Ps 13:2–3, 5 | Ezek 25:8 |
| Ps 16:3 | Joel 2:2 (?); Nah 2:11 |
| Ps 17:1 | Zeph 3:4 (?); Hos 5:8 (?) |
| Ezek 22:20 (?); Jer 18:18 (?); Ps 6:2–6 | Ps 6:2–6 (?) |

Table 3.1: Base and supporting texts in 4QMidrEschat^{a,b}

For the scope of this study, it suffices to describe the interpretive method of the reconstructed text in brief. From Ps 1 (col. III, 14), one word, occurring in verse 1—namely, דרך “the way” (“Happy are those who do not follow the advice of the wicked, or take the way [דרך] that sinners tread” NRSV, modified)—is taken as a link to connect the psalm to Isa 8:11 (quoted in ll. 15–16): “and [the Lord] warned me not to walk in the way (דרך) of this people” (NRSV).³⁷⁵ One curious feature of this *peshet* is that, in its interpretation of Psalm 11 (quoted in col. VIII, 7–8), its interpretive strategy appears to be to take the whole psalm—not only the quoted verses (1–2)—into account to connect the notion of “fleeing like birds” to “exilic flight,” which occurs in its supporting text, Mic 2:10–11. Thus, even if there is no shared vocabulary between the base and supporting texts, the link can be established on a rather thematic basis.³⁷⁶

Quotations of psalms can be found on four of the five reconstructed lines of 4QMidrash on Eschatology^b (4Q177). The quotation formula אשר אמר דוד, “David

³⁷³ Steudel 1994, 51, n. 5.

³⁷⁴ For a discussion of the possible supporting texts, see Willgren Davage 2019, 235–236; Steudel 1994, 87–89. Willgren Davage (236) argues that Isa 22:13 is the most probable supporting text for Ps 12:1.

³⁷⁵ Willgren Davage 2019, 231–232.

³⁷⁶ Willgren Davage 2019, 232.

says” (XI, 7) precedes a citation of Ps 6:2–5.³⁷⁷ According to Steudel, these kinds of אשר formulae are used to signal subordinate quotations.³⁷⁸ This is intriguing when compared to 1 Cor 15:27 where Paul denotes the quotation only after the words have been quoted, which pair together two different psalms.³⁷⁹ The latter quotation from Ps 8:7 can thus be considered a subordinate quotation, as it follows the quotation from Ps 109(110):1 marked with the conjunction γάρ.

In a similar manner, as Moshe Bernstein observes that Ps 17:1 is quoted in 4QMidrEschat^{a,b} without introductory or quotation formulae and “without a break from the previous text in line 4,” it appears to be followed by a lengthy comment.³⁸⁰ This phenomenon—namely, marking the citation only afterwards—appears to belong to Paul’s quotation technique as well (cf. 1 Cor 15:27).

In sum, the *pesharim* found among the documents of the Judean Desert provide an intriguing comparison to Paul’s interpretive practices since the way Paul uses psalms is in line with this material: not only the Prophets but also the psalms offer a source of theological teaching for Paul. In other words, psalms serve as a source of both prophecy and divine revelation.

3.2.2. *The Implicit Use of Psalms*

Poetic and Hymnic Texts in the Late Second Temple Period

The Psalms of Solomon is relevant for the study at hand because it is necessary to consider whether Paul could have used other psalm or poetry texts not included in the later MT or LXX psalm collections. The question of whether Paul was familiar with the Psalms of Solomon, however, is less straightforward. The dating of the apocryphal composition and Paul’s writings would allow it, as the Psalms of Solomon is dated to the first century BCE and Paul’s letters to the first century CE, but were the Psalms of

³⁷⁷ According to Bernstein (2013b, 658) Ps 6:2–3, whereas according to Willgren Davage (2019, 231) Ps 6:2–6, although indicated as uncertain with a question mark.

³⁷⁸ Steudel 1994, 142.

³⁷⁹ For a detailed analysis of this passage, see sub-sec. 5.2.3.

³⁸⁰ Bernstein (1992) 2013b, (58) 661.

Solomon known outside the community that compiled them?³⁸¹ On the other hand, the *Barkī Nafshi* hymns and the *Hodayot* from Qumran comprise compositions with which Paul was certainly unfamiliar. Nevertheless, these collections provide yet another type of corpus for comparison—namely, data for investigating interpretative activity among Late Second Temple communities and individual writers through the implicit use of psalms and imitation of the language of psalms.

The Psalms of Solomon

The social background of the Psalms of Solomon is Roman-occupied Jerusalem, and the text can be dated to the first century BCE.³⁸² It is nevertheless disputed whether the psalms were composed by an individual or by a group over a longer span of time.³⁸³ While the Greek language of these psalms bear Semitic elements, no Hebrew (or Aramaic) parallels have been preserved. Thus, against the traditional consensus claiming Hebrew to be the original language, it has been argued recently that the Psalms of Solomon was originally composed in Greek.³⁸⁴

According to Atkinson, the psalms were used in the worship practices of a Jewish sectarian community residing in Jerusalem. Furthermore, he proposes that a redactor within that community must have brought these psalms together and that the

³⁸¹ Embry (2002, 106–122) provides a survey of research history of the Psalms of Solomon among New Testament scholars. However, it has been customary in these studies to examine common themes shared by the Pss. Sol. and the New Testament writers, rather than argue for direct influence. For Brad Embry's critical assessment of Mikael Winnige's study of comparing the concepts of sinners and the righteous in Paul and in Pss. Sol., see esp. pp. 116–122. According to Embry, the primary deficiency of Winnige's study is that he identifies "the sinners" addressed in the Pss. Sol. as Pharisees.

³⁸² Albrecht 2018, 198; Pajunen 2017a, 255–256; Joosten 2015, 31. The dating is based on the hints in the text that refer to the events of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 BCE. The composition is thought to have been compiled by the time of the rise of Herod near the turn of the Common Era.

³⁸³ Pajunen 2017a, 256–257.

³⁸⁴ For a detailed survey of available manuscripts attesting the Psalms of Solomon, see Albrecht 2018, 13–33. Cf. also Albrecht 2014. Albrecht (2018, 34, 181) considers the original language of the Psalms of Solomon to be Greek based on the dependence of the vocabulary of the Pss. Sol. on the vocabulary used specifically in the LXX (for instance, *ὀλιγωρέω* is used in Prov 3:11 and Ps. Sol. 34). Similarly Atkinson (2014, 4) and Joosten (2015) argue for Greek as the original language of the Psalms of Solomon. According to Albrecht (2018, 34, 182), the Semitic elements of the Greek text may be explained due to imitation of the language of the LXX for which it is characteristic to carry elements of its Hebrew original. For other aspects of the Psalms of Solomon, see Bons and Pouchelle (eds.) 2015.

psalms would have been read in the setting of a synagogue.³⁸⁵ Some of the psalms attest disagreements between the priests at the Temple in Jerusalem and the community.³⁸⁶ Atkinson further observes that the community recognized the Roman conquest as God having protected the community but having punished the Temple.³⁸⁷

In sum, of interest regarding the study at hand is that the Psalms of Solomon provides information that new psalms were composed during the late Second Temple period from group-specific perspectives. Furthermore, the psalms of this corpus may have functioned as part of the worship practices of the community that composed them. The Psalms of Solomon and the letters of Paul may share similar themes, but this does not mean that Paul would have known this corpus.

Barkhi Nafshi hymns (4Q434–438) and the Hodayot (1QH^a)

The *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns can be classified as a type of praise hymn attested in the extant MT Psalter (e.g., Pss 103, 104) and among the Qumran documents (4Q434–438). It is still debated among scholars, however, whether the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns found at Qumran originated there. According to Pajunen, the author of 4Q434 imitates the structure and themes of Ps 103, particularly its emphasis on the merciful and gracious acts of God, and both texts recount the promise of God’s justice on behalf of the oppressed (Ps 103:6).³⁸⁸ It is noteworthy, however, that the exodus tradition is not reflected in the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns of Qumran.³⁸⁹ In this respect, their theology differs from the historical psalms (78, 105, 106) used by Paul, for whom the exodus tradition plays a central role, as will be shown in this study.

³⁸⁵ Atkinson 2004, 1. Atkinson (6–8) discusses the research history of identifying the group behind the Psalms of Solomon with the Pharisees, but rejects this view because of the lack of historical evidence for Pharisees before 70 CE—their earliest mention being in Paul (Phil 3:5). Cf. also the other references to Pharisees in the NT: Acts 5:34, 15:5, 23:6–9, and 26:5. The references to Pharisees in the first century CE outside the NT come from Josephus, *Vita* 10–12; *B. J.* 2.119, 162–163; *A. J.* 13.171–173, 288–298; 18.12–15. Other Jewish sectarian groups have been suggested as being behind the Psalms of Solomon; for these, see Atkinson 2004, 8 and Albrecht 2018, 182–211.

³⁸⁶ Atkinson 2004, 2.

³⁸⁷ Atkinson 2004, 2.

³⁸⁸ Pajunen 2017a, 266–267.

³⁸⁹ Pajunen 2017a, 267.

Other sources that serve as thematic parallels to the use of psalms in Paul's corpus are the Thanksgiving Hymns from Qumran (*Hodayot*, 1QH^a).³⁹⁰ The author of the collection 1QH^a is unknown, but the often-mentioned *Maskil* indicates, according to a few scholars, that the author could have been the Teacher of Righteousness. This figure is mentioned in the documents of the Qumran community, and it is further argued that the Teacher of Righteousness could have been the founder of the community. Nevertheless, it is disputed whether all of the texts of the 1QH^a collection should be attributed to this figure. The most critical scholars argue that the author cannot be ascertained at all from the text.³⁹¹ According to Newsom, the collection had been written as instructions to the leader of the community, *maskil*, and the texts thus function as a foundation for the community's identity.³⁹² In sum, the content of the text seems to imply that it was composed within the Qumran community.

Curiously, both the *Hodayot* and Paul appear to subscribe to a rather nihilistic view of the human condition. In 1QH^a, there are such expressions as "righteousness does not belong to humankind nor perfection of way to a mortal" (1QH^a 4.30–31 [DJD 40 XII, 31–2]) as well as the notion of the "evil inclination of flesh," neither of which occur in the Hebrew Bible or in the Septuagint. Also, there are similarities between Paul's concept of the *πνεῦμα–σάρξ* dichotomy and the dualistic view of the struggle of two spirits in the so-called Treatise on the Two Spirits in 1QS III, 13–IV, 26 and in the *Hodayot*.³⁹³ These similarities in Paul's writings have prompted questions about direct or indirect influence. The latter seems to be the more plausible explanation: that is, both the Qumran community and Paul, composing their texts in isolation of one another, imitated the language of the texts they valorized—e.g., psalms—combining them with contemporary philosophical attitudes.

³⁹⁰ The manuscript has been paleographically dated to sometime between 30 and 1 BCE. Schuller 2011, 123.

³⁹¹ Hughes 2006, 16; Schuller 2011, 125.

³⁹² Newsom 2004, 102–103.

³⁹³ Cf. Frey 2014, 250–260.

3.2.3. *Psalms and Liturgy*

Since it is often presumed that Paul became acquainted with scriptures in the setting of a synagogue,³⁹⁴ it is necessary to discuss the present state of scholarship on synagogue studies. In previous scholarship, it has often been assumed that the synagogue institution had already been developed and that psalms were an integral component of both temple and synagogue worship at the turn of the Common Era.³⁹⁵ This assumption has further led to the hypothesis that, during the late Second Temple period, psalms were popular and well-known and could therefore be cited from memory. However, the reading of psalms or prayers, as compared to that of the Torah, is mentioned less often in connection to gatherings.³⁹⁶ To fully assess this background, it is first necessary to determine whether devotional life, which involves the reading of scripture, was even dependent on the existence of a communal place specifically for this practice—i.e., a synagogue? Second, “liturgy” needs to be defined. A wide definition for the practice in the Second Temple period would cover, in addition to temple offerings and acts of mystical piety, the study of scripture, benediction, and praise.³⁹⁷ Hence, “liturgy” is not bound to institutional or structured devotional life, but it rather includes the private study of scripture as well. I will use the term “liturgy” in this wide sense when discussing the use of psalms during the Second Temple period.

In this discussion, the following questions are explored:

³⁹⁴ Koch 1989, 199–201; Hengel 1991, 35–36; Crisler 2016, 48.

³⁹⁵ Catto 2007, 5: “Previous generations of scholars had a clear idea of what was meant by the term ‘synagogue,’ it being derived from functions that involved worship. Catto (199) concludes that “it has been shown that the position of a previous generation of scholars who perceived the ‘synagogue’ as a monolithic entity and translated various terms with the English ‘synagogue’ is untenable.” However, Catto tries to weigh the arguments raised both by the so-called minimalists and maximalists by stating that “... in a wide range of places and in various Jewish groups, the reading and teaching of Torah is highlighted.” He (3) argues earlier in his study that “such reading and teaching were more than a didactic activity and should be seen as worship.”

³⁹⁶ For the instances in which psalms are mentioned in connection to gatherings, see Josephus, *A.J.* 14.260; *Vita* 295; *C. Ap.* 1.209; Philo, *Spec.* 3.171 and Matt 6:5. The Torah is said to be read and taught, or the Torah scrolls is said to be present in synagogues in the following sources listed by Runesson et al. (2008, 7, n. 14): Philo, *Somn.* 2:127; *Opif.* 128; *Hypoth.* 7:11–13; *Legat.* 156, 157, 311–313; *Mos.* 2.215–216; *Spec.* 2.60–62; *Contempl.* 30–31; *Prob.* 80–83; Josephus, *B.J.* 2.289–92; *A.J.* 16.43–45, 164; *C. Ap.* 2.175; Mark 1:21, 39; 6:2; Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 13:54; Luke 4:15, 16–30, 31–33; 44; 6:6; 13:10; Acts 9:20; 13:5, 14–16; 14:1; 15:21; 17:2–3, 10–11, 17; 18:4–6, 26; 19:8; John 6:59; 18:20. Cf. n. 69 above.

³⁹⁷ Reif, 1993, 71ff. Cited in Pajunen 2015, 475.

1. What is the relationship between the public or private gatherings of Jews, both in the diaspora and in Palestine, and the synagogue institution that later emerged?
2. What occurred at these gatherings? Were they religious gatherings? Did psalms play any role in them?
3. What answers to these questions are variously provided by archeological evidence, epigraphic mentions, and literary descriptions of devotional life?

Since all the above mentioned source types offer different perspectives on the development of early communal and private worship life, I will not deal with them separately, but address the matter by responding to the first two questions listed above. Further, it has been debated whether it is even relevant to seek material evidence (archeological findings) since it is difficult to identify the function of archaeological remains.³⁹⁸ Or, can literary evidence, in cases in which public gatherings are described, reveal the development of the synagogue institution more accurately. Such evidence might also be studied for the use of psalms and prayers in private or communal devotion.³⁹⁹ Additionally, epigraphic evidence and papyri that attest the terms *συναγωγή* and *προσευχή* play an important role: epigraphic evidence helps identify the function of the buildings where such epigraphic dedications are found, whereas papyri attest to the use of terms that can be dated and provenanced.⁴⁰⁰ Moreover, literary evidence of the use of the terms shed light on how the writers viewed the function of *συναγωγή* and *προσευχή*.

In the following discussion, I concentrate on what can be known about the use of psalms at gatherings of Jewish communities in the late Second Temple period, focusing on literary evidence. I first briefly discuss the available material evidence for the development of prayer buildings in the diaspora and in Palestine. Second, I survey the research history of the liturgical use of psalms. Finally, I discuss the changing

³⁹⁸ For a critical assessment of the identification of archaeological evidence from the first century CE as synagogue buildings, see Catto 2007, 7; Matassa 2018, 5–7.

³⁹⁹ For a definition of liturgy as detected in literary works, see Falk 1998, 16–20.

⁴⁰⁰ In case of epigraphic and papyri evidence, *προσευχή* is the term that occurs most frequently, but other terms, such as *εὐχαιον*, are also relevant in detecting the function of the buildings that they describe. For further discussion of different terms both in epigraphic, documentary, and literary sources, not only in Greek but also in Hebrew and Latin, see Runesson 2001, 171–174. Cf. also Catto 2007, 15–25, 28–48.

function of psalms (other than liturgical) during the late Second Temple period, as reflected also in Paul's use of psalms.

Material evidence of synagogues in diaspora and Palestine

Regarding the first question posed above—viz., the relationship between the public or private gatherings of diaspora Jews on the one hand and of those in Palestine on the other hand—previous scholarship has discussed at length where and when the synagogue institution emerged.⁴⁰¹ There is no scholarly consensus as to when or where synagogue buildings first emerged. E. L. Sukenik has argued that, based on his excavation at Bet Alpha, the synagogue institution originated in Babylonia. He further claims that the synagogue emerged already in the first century CE in Palestine.⁴⁰² However, his evidence was in fact dated to the late Roman or Byzantine period. Martin Hengel, on the other hand, has argued that the synagogue developed in the Hellenistic period among diaspora Jews, arguing that it was not a replacement for the temple of Jerusalem but functioned as a response to the centralization of the temple.⁴⁰³ More recently, as for the function of communal gatherings, Stefan Reif argues that “[i]t is even possible that its basic characteristics were imported into the homeland from diaspora communities where such a function was doubly useful in protecting religious identity as well as centralizing its practical expression.”⁴⁰⁴ The contested nature of research on the emergence of the synagogue institution derives from the difficulty of identifying and dating archaeological findings. In addition, when remains of public buildings are recovered, they are often uncritically identified as carrying religious function.

As for the concept of synagogue, its functions can be categorized as spatial, liturgical, non-liturgical, and institutional.⁴⁰⁵ Since the institutional and public aspect of daily prayer is often connected to the existence of the communal building for the

⁴⁰¹ For a survey of research, see, e.g., Runesson 2001, 169–189; Catto 2007, 10–13; Matassa 2018, 20–35.

⁴⁰² Sukenik 1932.

⁴⁰³ Hengel (1971) 1996.

⁴⁰⁴ Reif (2012, 29) notes that synagogue buildings served various functions (as mentioned in the Theodotus inscription).

⁴⁰⁵ Runesson *et al.* 2008, 7–8.

prayer, the synagogue, I mainly deal with its liturgical and institutional aspects. At any rate, since individual homes served the function of places for demonstrating piety already before the emergence of public buildings for worship and prayer,⁴⁰⁶ psalms were most probably used in different types of such gatherings as a way of expressing one's devotion. This is suggested, for instance, by the numerous references to liturgy in the Psalms of Solomon, in the superscriptions of the psalms (cf. the references to the Sabbath in LXX Pss 23:1; 47:1; 91:1; 92:1; 93:1; and the references to praise in, e.g., Ps 149:3), and in later evidence from Qumran (e.g., 1QS X, 1–3; 1QH^a XX, 4–7 [XII, 4–7], 1QM XIV, 12–14, *Daily Prayers* [4Q503], *Words of the Luminaries* [4Q504 and 4Q506]).⁴⁰⁷

Inscription and papyri evidence

As for the reading and recitation of psalms, their use is not dependent on any public building or fixed institution. More commonly, the sources from this period speak of *προσευχαί* (“the places of prayer”). It should also be noted that the term *συναγωγή* literally translates as “gathering,” so the word should not always be understood to refer unambiguously to a building. In addition, before the emergence of public buildings for such gatherings, city gates, for instance, functioned as places for all manners of gatherings. This can be inferred from the later Targum translations, where the occurrences of “the city gate” in the MT have been replaced by “synagogue.”⁴⁰⁸ Further evidence for the use of psalms and prayers in communal gatherings is to be found in numerous inscriptions and papyri in the diaspora during the late Second Temple period, starting from the third century BCE onwards.⁴⁰⁹ Among this evidence

⁴⁰⁶ Reif 2012, 30.

⁴⁰⁷ As for the evidence of daily prayer practice from the Dead Sea scrolls, see Falk 1998, esp. 46; Penner 2012. For a new reconstruction and detailed analysis of 4Q503, see Falk 1998, 33–40. For the analysis of the Words of the Luminaries, see Falk 1998, 59–94. Orpana (2016, 112, based on Esther Chazon's dissertation) notes that 4Q504 has “a clear reference to the fourth day of the week and the Sabbath” and further (112) that “the paryer [...] is apparently intended for recitation on the first day of the week [...]”

⁴⁰⁸ Runesson 2001, 87–97. Runesson (89) argues that “[t]he conclusion from archaeological and textual sources is that, if one understands the city gate as the forerunner of the synagogue, the ‘synagogue’ of the earlier period must be seen as a locus for both non-liturgical and liturgical activities.”

⁴⁰⁹ For a description of the Greek sources and further research references, see Runesson *et al.* 2008, 125–131, 134–135, 148–149, 153–162, 185–194, 196–197, 198–199, 215–217, 240–242.

commonly appears the term *προσευχή* “prayer” as an abbreviated form of *οἶκος προσευχής* “house of prayer.” Scholars have further discussed what actually occurred in such buildings, whether the term was exclusively Jewish,⁴¹⁰ and whether the term designated a communal building similar to that which would later become known as the “synagogue.”⁴¹¹ Still, for the purposes of this study, we can conclude that, even if it is uncertain what kind of activity took place in these buildings or “houses of prayer,” the dedication inscriptions and the papyri indicate that prayer itself was central to Jewish gatherings.

Literary evidence

Since the epigraphic and documentary evidence discussed above does not provide the full picture of the function of the buildings labelled as “prayer house,” literary descriptions can be used to shed light on how prayer, praying, and worship was a part of Jewish gatherings at that time. But were these gatherings religious and did psalms play any role in them?

In the New Testament, *συναγωγή* is used 56 times – mainly in the synoptic Gospels and in Acts. Most of these occurrences refer to a meeting (place) of Jews. Notably, however, none of these occurrences is from in the Pauline letters (whether undisputed, disputed, or pastoral). The description in Acts of Paul being told first to persecute Jesus-followers, and then, after his conversion, proclaiming Jesus in the synagogues for Jews and gentiles (God-fearing people), is usually taken as a historical account of Paul’s life. However, it is worth inquiring whether Paul deliberately avoids using the term *συναγωγή* when referring to his meeting with Jews in Jerusalem or whether the absence of the term is mere coincidence. For instance, in Gal 2:2, Paul mentions that he had visited Jerusalem, emphasizing that he declared “in private for those who were of reputation” (*κατ’ ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν*) how he had proclaimed the gospel among the gentiles. The phrase *κατ’ ἰδίαν* may also carry the meaning ‘separately.’⁴¹² Thus, the emphasis is not necessarily on a public meeting in contrast to a private one, but on the fact that that Paul was not advised by the authorities of the Jewish congregation of

⁴¹⁰ Against this notion, see Matassa 2018, 11–16.

⁴¹¹ For a critical view of this conjecture, see, e.g., Catto 2007, 199.

⁴¹² LSJ (VI.3.)

Jerusalem.⁴¹³ As for the evidence of synagogues in diaspora, Acts identifies a synagogue in Thessaloniki (17:1) and in Ephesus (18:19). Matassa notes that when the New Testament writers mention συναγωγή, prayer or liturgy does not occur in their descriptions.⁴¹⁴

In the LXX, συναγωγή is used 228 times. However, strikingly, the word is not chiefly used to designate the place of an assembly but rather more generally the ‘assembly,’ ‘congregation,’ or ‘company’ of people. The case is somewhat different regarding the Psalms of Solomon, where συναγωγή is used in a manner that may refer to a place (17:43) or to a congregation of people gathering for a religious purpose.⁴¹⁵ Another central term for both assemblies and later for the meeting places is ἐκκλησία, attested 103 times in the LXX and 114 times in the NT.

There is literary evidence for the existence of prayer practices in early Judaism—namely in Josephus’s writings (cf., e.g., *A.J.* 14.260; *B.J.* 2.129–133; *Vita* 292, 295; cf. also *A.J.* 8.108). Josephus’s *C. Ap.* 1.209 provides a depiction by Agatharcides of Cnidus, quoted by Josephus, describing devotional gatherings. Although the following literary depiction does not explicitly say that *psalms* were recited in the daily gatherings, prayer and praying do occur in them:

The people known as Jews, who inhabit the most strongly fortified of cities, called by the natives Jerusalem, have a custom of abstaining from work **every seventh day**; on those occasions they neither bear arms nor take any agricultural operations in hand, nor engage in any other form of public service, but **pray (εὐχεσθαι) with outstretched hands in the temples** until the evening. (*C. Ap.* 1.209 [Thackeray, LCL].)

Josephus further hints at the existence of communal gatherings in *Vita* 290:

⁴¹³ The discussion of Paul’s relationship with the leaders of the Jewish congregation in Jerusalem is a topic beyond the scope of this study. In brief, in Galatians, Paul underlines that he has independently concluded that the gentiles are not required to be circumcised to become Christ believers, and that the authority of this decision was given to him through revelation by Christ.

⁴¹⁴ Matassa 2018, 16.

⁴¹⁵ Ps. Sol. 10:7 (συναγωγῶν Ἰσραὴλ δοξάζουσιν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου); 17:16 (οἱ ἀγαπῶντες συναγωγὰς δόσιον); 17:43 (τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον τὸ πρῶτον τίμιον ἐν συναγωγαῖς διακρινεῖ λαοῦ φυλὰς ἡγιασμένου οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ὡς λόγοι ἁγίων ἐν μέσῳ λαῶν ἡγιασμένων); 17:44 (μακάριοι οἱ γενόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν συναγωγῇ φυλῶν ἃ ποιήσει ὁ θεός).

One of their number, however, a depraved and mischievous man named Ananias, proposed to the assembly that a **public fast** should be announced, in God's name, for the following day, recommending that they should reassemble at the same place and hour (κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον), without arms, in order to attest before God their conviction that without his aid no armour could avail them. (*Vita* 290–291 [Thackeray, LCL].)⁴¹⁶

Tessel M. Jonquière has studied Josephus's references to prayer in detail. She examines how the theme of prayer is embedded in Josephus's prose narrative on what one should and should not ask for in prayer. In addition, Jonquière studies 30 other references to prayer in Josephus's writings.⁴¹⁷ Josephus provides an account of daily prayer in, e.g., *A.J.* 4.212:

Twice each day, at its beginning and when the time comes to turn to sleep, people must bear witness to God for the gifts he gave when he delivered them from the land of the Egyptians. For thanksgiving is proper by nature and it is given in return for what happened and as a spur for what will be (*A.J.* 4.212 [Jonquière]).⁴¹⁸

Thus, Jonquière shows that, for Josephus, prayer should be performed twice a day, not three times, as other sources (cf. Dan 6:11; *b.Berakhot* 26b) require.⁴¹⁹ The two main sources for Jonquière's assessment come from *C. Ap.* 2.195–197 and *A.J.* 1.96–98.

⁴¹⁶ Εἷς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἀνανίας τοῦνομα, πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ κακοῦργος, εἰσηγεῖτο τοῖς πλήθεσι πανδημείῃ νηστεῖαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν τῷ θεῷ προσέσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἀνόπλους παρῆναι τῷ θεῷ φανερόν ποιήσοντας, ὅτι μὴ τῆς παρ' ἐκείνου τυγχάνοντες βοηθείας πᾶν ὄπλον ἄχρηστον εἶναι νομίζουσιν. See also the mentions of prayer in *Vita* 292, 295.

⁴¹⁷ For the minor rereferences to prayer in Josephus with brief discussion, see Jonquière 2007, 50–56, and more thoroughly, see chapter 3 of her study. For the full list, comprising 134 references to prayer in Josephus, see Jonquière 2007, 279–290.

⁴¹⁸ Translation by Jonquière 2007, 45.

⁴¹⁹ Jonquière 2007, 47–48, 274. See also *A.J.* 16.163 for an attestation of sacrifice and prayer twice a day. Jonquière mentions that some scholars, such as Falk 1998, 47, have argued that Josephus might refer in this passage to the *Shema*, but she (46–47) is skeptical regarding this view since the earliest explicit evidence of the *Shema* come from the New Testament (Mark 12:29–30) and rabbinic literature (*m.Berakot* 1:1–4), and since the most important aspect of daily prayer for Josephus—thanksgiving—is not present in the *Shema*.

The former passage (*C. Ap.* 2.195–197) deals with sacrifice, where Josephus notes that the ritual should not be used as an occasion to get drunk.⁴²⁰ The latter (*AJ* 1.96–98) deals with the long prayer that Noah prays after the flood following his offering and sacrifice.⁴²¹ Jonquière concludes that Josephus’s first example shows how, in early Judaism, it was common to describe prayer occurring at the same time as when it took place in the Temple, though prayer and sacrifice are not combined in the Torah. The combination of the two elements developed at a later period.⁴²² Josephus furthermore attests to prayers with and without sacrifice. The example from *AJ* 14.260 depicts the gatherings of Jews in Sardis serving for prayer and sacrifice, whereas the passage from *AJ* 8.108 depicts King Solomon’s prayer at the dedication of the temple: “I have built this temple called after you, so that from it we may send up prayers into the air to you when sacrificing and seeking good omens.”⁴²³ As Jonquière notes, however, the scriptural passages (2 Chron 6:12–7:1; 1 Kings 8:5; cf. 1 Kings 8:23–24, 28, 33–34, 48, 54) to which Josephus refers here do not mention prayer.⁴²⁴

Jutta Leonhardt has examined references to Jewish worship in the writings of Philo of Alexandria, scrutinizing Philo’s use of words hinting at, *inter alia*, worship (*λατρεία*),⁴²⁵ festivals (*έορτή*), Sabbath (*ή έβδομή ήμέρα*), prayer (*εύχή* and its cognates), praise, and thanksgiving (*εύχαριστία* and their cognates). In addition, Leonhardt assesses Philo’s use of psalms by analyzing his framing of the quotations, since Philo often mentions the singing and recitation of a psalm when introducing a quotation from the psalms: “it is sung in the psalms” (quoting LXX Ps 26:1 in *Somn.* I 75), “in the psalms this song is sung (*ᾄδεται δέ καί εν ὕμνοις ᾠσμα τοιοῦτον*)” (quoting

⁴²⁰ Jonquière 2007, 27.

⁴²¹ Jonquière 2007, 57–58.

⁴²² Jonquière 2007, 273.

⁴²³ *A.J.* 8.108. Translated by Jonquière, 2007, 33.

⁴²⁴ Jonquière, 2007, 33. Jonquière argues that, since sheep and cattle are sacrificed first and Solomon’s prayer begins only after that, there is no actual combination of sacrifice and prayer in the passage. See also *A.J.* 14.260 for an account of prayer and sacrifice (*εύχας καί θυσίας τῷ θεῷ*).

⁴²⁵ For Lenhardt’s (2001) definition of worship, see pp. 7–9 of her study. Among the most frequently occurring words in Philo referring to worship are *λατρεία* and its cognates, and *θεραπεία*. For Philo’s use of psalms, see also Runia 2001.

LXX-Ps 22:1 in *Mut.* 115), “in the hymnody / psalter...” (quoting LXX Ps 36:4 in *Plant.* 39), or “hymns/psalms” (referring to LXX Ps 79:6 in *Migr.* 157).⁴²⁶

Leonhardt concludes that Philo’s writings do not provide any direct information about synagogal prayer.⁴²⁷ Furthermore, she argues that Philo appears to derive all his knowledge of Jewish worship from the Septuagint Pentateuch as well as “occasional use of (written) sources containing other oral traditions, mainly limited to the Temple cult and oaths and vows.”⁴²⁸ Leonhardt further argues that Philo does not distinguish between Diaspora Judaism and Judaism in Israel, “neither does he show a lack of appreciation for the Temple.”⁴²⁹

Interestingly, similar features, when compared to Paul’s use of psalms, can be observed also in Philo’s manner of referring to these texts. For instance, Leonhardt argues that Philo views the psalmist as a prophet, which can be seen in his quotation of a psalm (LXX Ps 22:1) in *Agr.* 50: Philo views the authority of the psalmist as high as that of Moses, to whom he refers in the subsequent paragraph. Additionally, Philo addresses the psalmist as “prophet” (προφήτης).⁴³⁰ *Her.* 290 also provides a reference to the composer of psalms as a prophet: “For a prophetic man made the healthy statement [...]”.⁴³¹

The function of psalms and prayers continued to change throughout the Second Temple period.⁴³² The use of psalms for purposes other than liturgical ones increased during the late Second Temple period, which is reflected in the use of psalms in the examples discussed above (see on pages 82–87). The first phase of this shift can be seen taking place already during the Hellenistic period (from c. 330 BCE onwards), when psalms began to function as sources of history and ethics.⁴³³ The second phase, following the Maccabean revolt (c. 167–160 BCE), saw a change in the status of

⁴²⁶ Leonhardt 2001, 151. Cf. Hatch, (1889) 1970a, 174: “It may be noted that Philo in quoting the Psalms never uses the word ψαλμός or its compounds, but always ὕμνος or its compounds. [...] And that ὕμνοις [sic; ὕμνοι?] was the older designation is shown by the subscription to the Second Book of Psalms, which is found most MSS [...]”.

⁴²⁷ Leonhardt 2001, 278.

⁴²⁸ Leonhardt (2001, 279).

⁴²⁹ Leonhardt 2001, 279.

⁴³⁰ Leonhardt 2001, 149. See further examples of this usage listed by her (2001, 149–150).

⁴³¹ Runia 2001, 102–121, 105.

⁴³² Pajunen 2019, 168–175; Gerstenberger 2014, 338, 342, 344.

⁴³³ Pajunen 2019, 170, 172–174.

psalms: they were now regarded as prophecies, and new psalms were composed with that view.⁴³⁴ Finally, in the late Second Temple period, psalms could be used as prophecy, as historical or ethical sources, or as all of these. Paul's writings similarly evince his use of psalms both as prophecy and as sources for ethical teaching. However, the question whether Paul became acquainted with the psalms in the form of song cannot be solved on the basis of his framing of the psalm quotations.

Evidence for the Use of Psalms and Prayers in Early Jewish Liturgies

The earliest-written document attesting to Jewish prayer-books dates to the ninth and tenth centuries CE.⁴³⁵ Naturally, the prayer tradition is much older. Nevertheless, it is difficult to date the beginning of these practices precisely. The destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 CE has traditionally been seen as the starting point from which public daily prayer began to develop.⁴³⁶ Other scholars argue that some sort of fixed public worship had been in existence already two centuries before the destruction of the temple.⁴³⁷ The discoveries of the Judean Desert provide evidence that communal daily prayer was in fact already established at least prior to 70 CE.⁴³⁸

Jeremy Penner has arrived at a more cautious conclusion, having studied the development of fixed daily prayer during the late Second Temple period by analyzing the texts from Qumran. Penner surveys previous studies and places them into two categories: 1) studies that apply philological, source-critical, and form-critical approaches to further claim that prayer texts (attested in the Hebrew Bible) originated in the Second Temple period; 2) studies that are “more nuanced and sensitive to the problems of historical inquiry”⁴³⁹ by noting the diversity of prayer traditions in the given period. The latter group of studies conclude that fixed daily prayer developed only after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁴ Pajunen 2019, 168, 170, 174.

⁴³⁵ Falk 1998, 1–2.

⁴³⁶ Falk 1998, 2. Falk also refers to late biblical texts as evidence for the emergence of such public prayers as penitential prayers (e.g., Neh 9; Dan 9; Ezra 9).

⁴³⁷ Chazon 1994, 283–284 (cited in Falk 1998, 7).

⁴³⁸ Falk 1998, 9. Falk discusses at length whether the sacrificial cult of the temple of Jerusalem was an obligation for all Jews and, thus, whether the replacement of the sacrificial cult by prayer was the impetus behind the Qumran movement.

⁴³⁹ Penner 2012, 3.

⁴⁴⁰ Penner 2012, 4.

Penner concludes that “prayer as a fixed daily practice was neither required nor encouraged formally by priests as a requisite to be recited alongside daily sacrifices.”⁴⁴¹ He further points out that the understanding of prayer as a replacement of sacrifice was developed only after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, Penner argues that scriptural exegesis played a central role in the early stages of the development of daily prayer since there is evidence of attempts to legitimize fixed daily prayer by rooting it in scripture.⁴⁴²

From Personal Prayer to Formal Liturgy

The use of psalms as a part of liturgy in the Second Temple period was one of the main focuses of form critics such as Hermann Gunkel and Sigmund Mowinckel in the 20th century. They drew their arguments from analyses of the psalms now found in the Masoretic Psalter. Gunkel and Mowinckel tried to classify the psalms according to their *Sitz im Leben*, on their reconstructed use in the temple service. The psalms of the Masoretic Psalter were classified as individual laments, hymns, or songs of thanksgiving and praise.⁴⁴³ However, in more recent research, such a precise assignment of each psalm to a particular liturgical task has been seen as a purely hypothetical endeavor. Furthermore, this application of form-critical methodology was based on contemporary uses of psalms retrojected on the ancient world.⁴⁴⁴ In any case, psalms were most probably used both in worship and as an expression of individual piety.

Since the liturgical use of psalms stretched through the entirety of the Second Temple period, new liturgical functions for psalms emerged. Some prayers and psalms even declare their own efficacy as apotropaic prayers against demons and have been found in the form of amulets.⁴⁴⁵ Another new type of psalm to emerge at this time was the penitential prayer, a response to the societal change brought about during the

⁴⁴¹ Penner 2012, 209. Penner (2012, 209) further notes that “[i]n the Late Antique period, after reflection on the loss of the temple cult, we do witness a formal attempt in rabbinic literature to establish an analogy between prayer and sacrifice—one in which prayer actually becomes sacrifice (see, e.g. *b. Ber.* 26b).”

⁴⁴² Penner 2012, 210.

⁴⁴³ Begrich and Gunkel 1933; Mowinckel (1962) 2004.

⁴⁴⁴ For this criticism, see Pajunen 2019, 169–170.

⁴⁴⁵ See Eshel 2003, 70.

Persian conquest, considered among the Jewish people as a continuous exile.⁴⁴⁶ Stefan Reif describes the development of the use of psalms during the second century BCE as follows:

During the Second Temple period, the tendency developed to link the personal prayer and the formal liturgy. From the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical sources, it is apparent that there was an increasing number of benedictions, hymns and praises, mystical formulations of considerable variety, a concern for the absorption of Torah knowledge, and a growing use of the Temple precincts on special liturgical occasions.⁴⁴⁷

Hellenistic writers such as Philo and Josephus provide depictions showing that scriptures were used for prayer and study in various contexts—e.g., on the Sabbath and in festival rituals.⁴⁴⁸ Other sources provide implicit evidence that they likely also functioned as a part of prayer, worship, and liturgy. Although there is no direct information on liturgy during the late Second Temple period or early Judaism, the sources discussed above seem to indicate that such practice at least existed.

⁴⁴⁶ Pajunen 2019, 170.

⁴⁴⁷ Reif 2012, 73.

⁴⁴⁸ Reif 2012, 73. Cf. Leonhardt 2001, 52; Jonquière 2007, 278.

3.3. Conclusions on the Status, Use, and Reception of Psalms in the Late Second Temple Period

In this chapter, I have surveyed previous studies on late Second Temple and early Jewish sources for how psalms and prayers were used, both explicitly and implicitly, and, based on these sources, what can be known about their status, use, and function among different communities at that time. The abundance of sources explicitly quoting the psalms that would later come to be incorporated in the LXX and MT Psalters show that these were important texts for the communities that used them. Moreover, new poetic texts were composed at this time (e.g., Psalms of Solomon; 1QH^a), some of which were modeled on already existing psalms (e.g., the *Barkī Nafshi Hymns* from Qumran).

I have further discussed in this chapter how explicit quotations were framed, introduced, and interpreted in works written by contemporaries of Paul. Their explicit use hints at their prestige, as psalms tended to be presented in a similar vein as the Torah (the five books of Moses) and the Prophets. The Qumran *pesharim* even indicate that psalms functioned as base texts for scriptural commentaries. These aspects all seem to point towards the rising prestige of psalms.

Several similarities can be observed between Paul's manner of quoting from and referring to psalms and the sources discussed in this chapter: first, psalms are viewed as carrying authoritative status and are often presented as divine prophecy. Second, psalms may function as instructions for the community using them. Third, psalms likely had a role in liturgy. Based on previous studies on this topic, I have concluded that, although there is no direct evidence for how psalms were used in the different settings of devotional life during the late Second Temple period, there is ample implicit evidence of private and communal prayer as well as some evidence of the use of psalms and prayers in these settings. Nevertheless, this conclusion will not be used

in the present study to explain Paul's use of psalms, as such evidence is not explicit. Rather, the discussion in this chapter has aimed at portraying the cultural milieu in which Paul possibly encountered the psalms. In the following chapters, I scrutinize Paul's use of psalms, evaluating explicit quotations from these texts and subtle references to their vocabulary and themes.

4 Paul's Use of Psalms in Romans 3

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter,⁴⁴⁹ I examine the catena of quotations from the LXX Psalms found in Romans 3. In Romans 3:10–18, Paul starkly illustrates the plight of human beings. Paul has his audience contemplate human sinfulness, revealing to them the general inability of humans to carry out good deeds without God's mercy. To bolster this pessimistic view of humanity, Paul uses psalms (Pss 5; 9[10]; 13[14]; 35[36]; and 139[140]) that are not actually concerned with universal sinfulness but instead present the image of a sinister "other." Paul employs these psalms, by only partially quoting them, in order to conjure up a prototypical universalistic image of the sinful human. Hence, the catena in Romans 3:10–18 serves for Paul as a proof-text for universal sinfulness and departs substantially from the original literary context of the psalms. Additionally, Paul incorporates a quotation from Isa 59 into his catena that intertwines with the psalm quotations.

What is striking about the Pauline catena, composed of five verses from the psalms and a verse from Isa 59, is that a verbatim parallel to Paul's formulation appears as an expansion in LXX Ps 13:3 in most witnesses of the LXX. This expansion is missing only from one uncial MS (Codex Alexandrinus) and a few minuscule MSS (classified by Rahlfs as Lucianic).⁴⁵⁰ As for the Hebrew MSS evidence, no witnesses attest this expansion, nor is there any corroborating evidence among the discoveries of the Judean Desert, no such expansion being found in 11QPs^c (11Q7), of which fragments 4–7 attest to Psalms 12:5–14:6, or in 5/6 HevPsalms.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ This chapter is based on an earlier article, for which see Pulkkinen 2017. I wish to thank Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy Penner, the editors of the collected volume, for allowing me to build on this article and incorporate it into my dissertation.

⁴⁵⁰ Rahlfs (1931) 1979, 31 (§ 4.4); 60–63 (§ 7.1.–5.); cf. (1907) 1965, 42, 52, 17.

⁴⁵¹ See DJD 23, 55, and 5/6 HevPsalms Plates XXV–XXVII, Col. VI, fragments 3 + 1 iv preserving MT Ps 14:2–4; see DJD 38, 141–145; for further discussion of these manuscripts, see n. 464 and below.

In the analysis below, I pay particular attention to agreements and disagreements between the manuscript evidence for the psalms and the Pauline quotations. Since verses 13–18 agree verbatim with the majority of the manuscript evidence from LXX Psalm 13:3, I argue that the LXX manuscripts have been harmonized with Paul’s composition in Romans 3:10–18. This harmonizing expansion appears neither in Codex Alexandrinus nor in the Lucianic Text.

4.2. The Catena of Quotations in Romans 3:10–18

When one encounters differences between the Pauline catena of quotations and the Psalms that he quotes, the following questions arise: should the deviations be attributed to (a) Paul, who compiled the catena himself by using five psalms and a passage from Isa,⁴⁵² or (b) was the expansion present already in the *Vorlage*?⁴⁵³ Further, it is also possible that (c) the catena does not originate from LXX Ps 13 but instead circulated as a separate entity,⁴⁵⁴ either of Jewish or early Christian origin, during the time of Paul’s writing activity and that Paul inserted that text into his

⁴⁵² Thus arguing, e.g., Sanday and Headlam 1896, 77–78; Koch 1986, 56; Stanley 1992, 88. Wilckens (1978, 171) likens the catena to Justin’s use of a similar catena in *Dial.* 27:3, as well as to the same type of catenae and florilegia found in Qumran, of which Wilckens mentions 4QTestimonia and 4QFlorilegium. Nevertheless, Wilckens appears to attribute the deviations between the Pauline catena and the passages of LXX to Paul’s deliberate changes (“ist der LXX-Text [...] zweifellos verändert worden, möglicherweise von Paulus selbst,” though in some cases he admits that these same instances might have been due to Paul using a different *Vorlage* “ist ausgelassen, was auf die Vorlage des Paulus zurückgehen dürfte.” Cf. Luz 1968, 95–99.

⁴⁵³ For recent advocates of the latter argument, see Karrer and Schmid 2010, 156–157, 170–172. Karrer and Schmid (170–171) argue that, since Ps 52(53)—which is theorized to be part of the doublet Ps 13(14) + 52(53)—is not harmonized according to the Pauline catena, the longer version of Ps 13 must have originated from the psalm text, not from Paul’s quotation thereof.

⁴⁵⁴ Hatch (1889) 1970b; 204; Wilk 1998, 9–10.; Albl 1999, 172–177. Cf. Swete ([1902] 1968, 252: “Whether it [the expansion to LXX Ps 13:3] was brought into the text of the LXX from the Epistle, or was already in the Greek Psalms as known to St Paul, cannot perhaps now be ascertained. But it doubtless had its origin in the rabbinical practice of stringing together passages excerpted from various books [...] and it may have existed under this form in a collection of *testimonia* used by the Apostle [...].”

work.⁴⁵⁵ It has been also suggested that Paul quotes from memory and that deviations between the source text and the Pauline catena are due to memory lapses.⁴⁵⁶

In what follows, I consider these possible solutions, ultimately arguing that Paul was the one who created the catena of quotations in Romans 3:10–18. Further, I argue that the LXX Psalm 13 was later harmonized according to Paul’s composition in Rom 3:10–18, as verses 13–18 are attested in most of the LXX manuscripts of Ps 13:3, which (vv. 1–3) Paul uses as a starting point in his quotation catena.⁴⁵⁷ This argument stems from the hypothesis that, when we find a reading that both suits Paul’s argumentation and deviates from the LXX reading (in parallels, not in the expansion of Psalm 13:3), such modifications are more likely to be attributed to Paul. Thus, by detecting Paul’s motivation behind such modifications, we may trace the direction of

⁴⁵⁵ Thus argues Wilk (1998, 9–10), who advocates a pre-Christian origin for the catena: “[d]er umfangreiche Zusatz in Ps 13₃ (LXX), dem bei Paulus Röm 3:13–18 entspricht, läßt sich jedenfalls eher als Integration einer vorchristlichen Sammlung in die LXX-überlieferung verstehen als als Rückwirkung von Röm 3.” Cf. Albl (1999, 172–177), who claims that Paul “[...] is drawing on another written source” (172). Albl further claims that Paul used a pre-formed Jewish collection: “[j]ust as there are no compelling reasons to attribute the catena to Paul, neither are there persuasive reasons to attribute it to any Christian author. [...] [The] catena’s lack of obviously Christian characteristics, suggests an originally Jewish milieu for its composition” (174). Albl (1999, 175) rightly points out that the Masoretic Book of Psalms itself witnesses the editing process of composing new psalms by using the older ones as source material. These new psalms had authoritative status among the groups that used them. The discoveries from the Judean Desert (of which Albl [175] mentions 4QPs^a and 11QPs^a) attest to the same method of composing new psalms during the late Second Temple period. These examples do not, however, provide us with an exact parallel to the catena in Rom 3:10–18, since the catena in Romans consists solely of excerpted passages, some slightly modified and inserted into a new literary context, from different psalms, whereas 4QPs^a and 11QPs^a attest to entire psalms, although in different sequential order compared to the MT or the LXX Psalters. For a brief discussion of the content of the discoveries from the Judean Desert, see sec. 2.2.1 in the study at hand.

⁴⁵⁶ For a critique of this theory, see the introduction of this study, p. 17. In favor of this recitation thesis, see Robinson 1979, 36; Michel ([1929] 1979, 80) claims that Paul *thought* about Pss 13(14); 5; 139(140); 9 when dictating Rom 3:10–18: “Offenbar hat Paulus diese ganze Komposition *aus dem Gedächtnis* zusammengestellt und nicht aus einem Florilegium” (emphasis mine). Contra Koch 1986, 94. Later, in his commentary on Romans, Michel (1955, 143) argues that such catenae existed for different purposes, though he does not go as far as to say explicitly that Paul used a pre-formed composition.

⁴⁵⁷ It has been also suggested (cf., e.g., Hofius, 2002, 47 n. 37; Brooke 2015, 255, 257; see note 449 below) that Paul started the catena with a quotation from Eccl 7:20, which, if the first two words are omitted, corresponds with the start of the Pauline catena: ὅτι ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος, “since there is no righteous human.”

change between the texts. Proceeding cautiously, then, I will deal with the passage verse by verse, discussing each of the deviations in detail and evaluating whether they should be attributed to Paul or to his *Vorlage*.⁴⁵⁸

4.2.1. Romans 3:10

| | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Romans 3:10b | Psalm 13(LXX):1 εἰς τὸ τέλος ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ εἶπεν ἄφρων ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν θεός διέφθειραν καὶ ἐβδελύχθησαν ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν <u>οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος</u> <u>οὐδέ εἷς.</u> | Ecclesiastes 7:20 ὅτι ἄνθρωπος <u>οὐκ ἔστιν</u> <u>δίκαιος</u> ἐν τῇ γῇ ὃς ποιήσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται |
| | 1 Regarding completion. A Psalm. Pertaining to David. The fool says in his heart, “There is no God.” They caused corruption and were abominable in their practices; | |
| | Psalm 13:3c–d <u>οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα</u> <u>οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός</u> | |
| <u>There is no one</u> <u>righteous,</u> <u>not even one.</u> | <u>there is no one practicing</u> <u>kindness;</u> there is not even one. | For as to humanity, <u>there is no one righteous</u> in the earth who will do good and will not sin. |

Table 4.1: Rom 3:10b compared with its source text and parallels

⁴⁵⁸ For the assessment of available manuscripts attesting the LXX Pss, see ch. 2.1 of the present study. I have indicated differences between the texts of Paul and the psalm in bold. Verbatim agreement is underlined in the Septuagint text. The English translations here are modified from NET and NETS. I have altered some words and tense inflection to indicate when Paul’s quotation follows LXX and when Paul deviates from it.

The wording in Rom 3:10, “There is no one righteous, not even one,” resembles a few possible parallel texts in the LXX: Ps 13:1, and 3 (“[...] there is no one practicing kindness, there is not even one”), as well as Eccl 7:20 (“[...] there is no one righteous”). The first part in Paul (“There is no one righteous”) is an exact parallel with Eccl, which has the word *δίκαιος* instead of *ποιῶν χρηστότητα* attested in Ps 13:1 and 3. Hence, some scholars have suggested that Paul might have conflated the psalm texts with Ecclesiastes 7:20, where the word *δίκαιος* also occurs.⁴⁵⁹ However, what follows (“not even one”) has a semantic (though not lexical) parallel with Ps 13:1 and 3: *οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός*. Since Paul continues quoting Ps 13:2 in the following verse, it is more likely that the wording also in this verse stems from the psalm text. Nevertheless, Paul does not quote the text without modifications: the first part of LXX Ps 13:1, where the *ἄφρων* (“foolish,” v. 1) is distinguished from the *συνίων* (“the one who understands; the wise” v. 2), is not attested in Paul’s catena. While the psalmist does not say so explicitly, he counts himself among the wise.⁴⁶⁰

In addition, Paul makes several lexical changes. He uses the adjective *δίκαιος* (“righteous”) instead of the expression *ποιῶν χρηστότητα* (“the one who does good”), the former being a characteristic of Pauline language. Paul does use the expression *ποιῶν χρηστότητα*, however, later in the catena, in verse 12. In addition to the lexical modification (*δίκαιος* instead of *ποιῶν χρηστότητα*) of verse 10, Paul also changes the expression *ἕως ἑνός* (“not even one”) to the semantically corresponding *οὐδέ εἷς* (“not even one”), which can be seen as a stylistic change.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ See, e.g., Hofius, 2002, 47 n. 37; Brooke 2015, 255, 257. Notably, if Paul does refer here to Ecclesiastes, this is the only instance in the New Testament where a reference to Ecclesiastes appears. Furthermore, the literary context of Eccl 7:22 would suit Paul’s emphasis on universal human culpability well: “there is no one righteous in the earth who will do good and will not sin.” Dunn (1988, 150) also mentions the parallels to Rom 3:10 that appear in the Qumran texts regarding the confessional element in 1QH^a IV, 30–31 (= DJD 40: XII, 31–2): “[b]ut as for me, I know that the righteousness does not belong to humankind nor perfection of way to a mortal. To God Most High belongs all the work of righteousness [...]”; VII, 17, 28–29 (= DJD 40: XV, 21, 32–34); XIII, 16–17 (= DJD 40: V, 31–36); XVI, 11 (= DJD 40: VIII, 28); 11QPs^a Ps 155:8.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. Craigie 1983, 148–149.

⁴⁶¹ In verse 1e, some LXX witnesses (Lucianic text, Tht, Sy, 55) omit the words *οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός*, and Jerome’s *Psalterium Gallicanum* (henceforth, Ga) marks them with an *obelus*, indicating deviation from the Hebrew text. However, none of the LXX manuscripts regarding Ps 13:1 follows the wording of Rom 3:10 (*οὐδέ εἷς*).

4.2.2. Romans 3:11–12

Romans 3:11

οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνίων,
οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν.

there is no one who understands, there is
no one who seeks God.

Romans 3:12

πάντες ἐξέκλιναν ἅμα ἠχρεώθησαν· οὐκ
ἔστιν ὁ ποιῶν χρηστότητα.⁴⁶² [οὐκ
ἔστιν]⁴⁶³ ἕως ενός.

All turned away, as well as became
useless, there is no one who practices
kindness, [there is] not even one.

Psalms 13:2

κύριος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκυψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἔστιν
συνίων ἢ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν

The Lord peered down from the sky on
the sons of men to see if there was any
who had understanding or who sought
God.

Psalms 13:3a–d

πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρεώθησαν, οὐκ
ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως
ένος.

All turned away, as well as became
useless;
there is no one practicing kindness;
there is not even one.

Table 4.2: Romans 3:11–12 compared to its source text

Romans 3:11 appears to be heavily modified: Paul disregards the first part of Psalm 13:2, beginning his quotation from verse 2b. He replaces the infinitival construction τοῦ ἰδεῖν (“to see”) with the existential construction “there is no one,” substituting the infinitival construction and particle εἰ with a negative clause and οὐκ. Crucial to note here is that the psalm itself does not claim that there is no one understanding or seeking God. Rather, “the foolish says in his heart ‘there is no God’” (v. 1), and “God peers down from the heaven on the sons of men to see *if there were* any who understands or

⁴⁶² In Rom 3:12, instead of *χρηστότητα*, witnesses B S U L A R Ga read *ἀγαθόν* (as in Ps 52:4).

⁴⁶³ Omitted in MSS B 6 1739. Stanley (1992, 91–93) attributes the expression *οὐκ ἔστιν*—which appears in NA²⁷ and NA²⁸) in brackets—to Paul: “[t]he omission of the initial *οὐκ ἔστιν* from part of the Pauline tradition for v. 12c would represent a deviation to be investigated here only if it proved to be original, which is highly doubtful. [...] The reading that includes these words [*οὐκ ἔστιν*] is therefore secure, despite the C rating and brackets assigned to it by the UBS Committee.” Stanley considers it most plausible that Paul modified the verse for rhetorical purposes, placing *ἕως ενός* after the repetition of *οὐκ ἔστιν*. In particular, it is worth noting that, in this verse, Paul does use the expression *ποιῶν χρηστότητα*, following the psalm’s wording—not replacing it with *δίκαιος*, as he does in verse 10. Stanley further mentions that uncial R and the Gallican Psalter of Jerome read *ἀγαθόν* instead of *ποιῶν χρηστότητα*. A similar variation of lexemes appears in the twin psalm, Ps 52:1–4. See also Koch 1986, 55–56.

who seeks God” (v. 2). Paul, however, narrows down the context of this quotation: by leaving out the distinction between “the one who understands” and the “foolish,” Paul changes the focus to the sinfulness of all humanity before God. Furthermore, Paul adds the repetition οὐκ ἔστιν, which does not appear in Psalm 13:2. Paul also adds definite articles before the participles in verses 11 and 12. As such, the latter represents a verbatim quotation of Psalm 13:3a, after which the passage becomes intriguing, particularly from a text-critical perspective.

4.2.3. Romans 3:13a–b

| Romans 3:13a–b | Psalm 13:3e–f | Psalm 5:10c–d |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ</u> <u>λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς</u> <u>γλώσσαις αὐτῶν</u> <u>ἐδολιοῦσαν,</u> | [τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν] | ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἀλήθεια ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ματαία <u>τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ</u> <u>λάρυγξ αὐτῶν ταῖς</u> <u>γλώσσαις αὐτῶν</u> <u>ἐδολιοῦσαν</u> |
| <u>Their throat is an</u> <u>opened grave; with their</u> <u>tongues do they deceive,</u> | [Their throat is an opened grave; with their tongues do they deceive] | Because there is no truth in their mouth, their heart is vain; <u>their throat is an opened</u> <u>grave; with their tongues</u> <u>do they deceive.</u> |

Table 4.3: Romans 3:13a–b compared to its possible source texts and parallels

In Romans 3:13a–b, Paul quotes Psalm 5:10. He omits the first of the two parallel cola (“because there is no truth in their mouths; their heart is vain”), inserting the second parallel expression into his catena (“their throat is an opened grave; with their tongues do they deceive”). While the New Testament manuscripts are uniform, the case becomes more complex when the available witnesses to psalms are considered: Psalm 5:10c–d (= Rom 3:13a–b)—along with everything that follows in Paul’s catena until verse 18—appears as an expansion in LXX Psalm 13:3. However, this expansion does not appear in the Masoretic Text of the psalm (Ps 14:3). Furthermore, it is altogether absent from 11QPs^c (11Q7) fragments 4–7, of which attest to Psalms 12:5–14:6, as

well as from 5/6 ̣evPsalms.⁴⁶⁴ As for the Greek witnesses, A (and 55), the Lucianic text, and Theodoret's Psalter commentary all lack this expansion in verse 3. The expansion is otherwise preserved in all other codices (B D R S* U), in 286, and in the daughter translations of the LXX (Aeth Arab^{ParRom} Boh Lat Sah), as well as in seven minuscule manuscripts (115 174 180 189 191 227 273).⁴⁶⁵ The Psalter of Jerome (Psalterium Gallicanum) attests to the expansion, marked with an *obelus* to indicate deviation from the Hebrew text. The earliest available witness of the Pauline addition in the LXX manuscripts is found in a papyrus (Rahlfs's *siglum* 2019) dating to the end of the third century CE.⁴⁶⁶ I will deal with the origins of the catena in further detail in the discussion section below.

4.2.4. Romans 3:13c

| Romans 3:13c | Psalms 13:3g | Psalms 139:4 |
|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη</u> <u>αὐτῶν·</u> | <u>ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη</u> <u>αὐτῶν</u> | ἡκόννησαν γλῶσσαν αὐτῶν ὥσει ὄφεως <u>ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη</u> <u>αὐτῶν</u> διάψαλμα |
| <u>poison of snakes is under</u> <u>their lips.</u> | <u>poison of snakes is under</u> <u>their lips.</u> | They made their tongue sharp as a snake's; <u>poison of snakes is under</u> <u>their lips.</u> |

Table 4: Romans 3:13c compared to its possible source texts and parallels

⁴⁶⁴ See DJD 23 (1998), 55. Dated to the first half of the first century CE, 11QPs^c (11Q7) frags. 6 and 7 attest to Pss 13:6–14:4 (according to the Hebrew numbering), though they are relatively poorly preserved. Nevertheless, since the words ַחַד from verse 3 and שִׁמָּה (a variant of MT ַשִּׁי) from verse 5 are aligned, the available space suggests the shorter reading, without expansion. A more secure example of a Hebrew MS that attests the absence of the extension is found in 5/6 ̣evPsalms (Plates XXV–XXVII, Col. VI, fragments 3 + 1 iv; DJD 38 [2000] pp. 141–143; see esp. the reconstruction on p. 152), dated to the first century CE (c. 50–68 CE). Although the reconstruction of Ps 14 is based on two fragments, the reconstruction of vv. 3–4 (esp. the change of the verse, of interest in this study) is secure, since they are attested in a single fragment (1 iv), beginning on l. 22. Even though the text is not entirely preserved on this fragment, the beginning of verse 4, הִלְהִי, is visible below גַּלְהִי in v. 3. As the editors (153) note, “both the traces of הִלְהִי and spacing considerations [...] show that 5/6 ̣evPsalms contained the shorter text found in MT, not the much longer reading (beginning with קַרְבִּי) that follows verse 3 in LXX [...]”

⁴⁶⁵ Rahlfs (1907) 1965, 42, 52; (1931) 1967, 67 (§ 7.6).

⁴⁶⁶ Rahlfs (1931) 1967, 14. See also Rahlfs (1907) 1965, 15–16, in which he uses the *siglum* Lond²³⁰. For discussion of this MS, see n. 487 below.

In verse 13, the quotation from Psalm 139(140):4b fully agrees with the LXX manuscripts, appearing rather uniform.⁴⁶⁷ Paul modifies the quotation by omitting the first part of the parallel expression from verse 4: “they made their tongue sharp as a snake’s.” Furthermore, from a text-critical perspective, it is interesting that the cola, as quoted from Psalm 139(140):4 in Romans 3:13c, is copied in the Sahidic version of Psalm 5:10. Combined with, and compared to, the example above, this case shows that New Testament quotations may have—deliberately or accidentally—influenced or even been used as the sources for harmonizing the manuscripts of the quoted texts over their transmission process.

4.2.5. Romans 3:14

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Romans 3:14 <u>ὧν τὸ στόμα</u> ⁴⁶⁸ <u>ἀρᾶς καὶ</u> <u>πικρίας γέμει</u> | Psalm 13:3h [ὧν τὸ στόμα ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει] | Psalm 9:28 οὗ ἀρᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ <u>γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ</u> δόλου ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ κόπος καὶ πόνος him whose (sg.) mouth is full of cursing and bitterness and deceit; under his tongue are grief and hardship. |
| whose (pl.) mouths are full of cursing and bitterness. | [whose (pl.) mouths are full of cursing and bitterness] | |

Table 4.5: Romans 3:14 compared to its possible source texts and parallels

The changes in verse 14 concern vocabulary, word order, and grammatical number. Paul omits the possessive pronoun (despite it appearing in B and 33) and the noun δόλος (“guile” or “treachery”)—the latter omitted perhaps because he uses the verb δολῶ in a previous verse.⁴⁶⁹ The word order in Romans 3:14 is less ambiguous than

⁴⁶⁷ Only MS U has singular ἀσπίδος, instead of the plural in LXX Ps 13:3. Furthermore, concerning other translations of this psalm (LXX Ps 139:4), La^R and Ga disagree, using “linguam” (sg. acc., according to the singular Hebrew noun לִשָּׁה) instead of “linguas” (pl. acc.) (as in La^G, Augustine and Vulgate), which corresponds to the plural in the LXX.

⁴⁶⁸ MSS B and 33 (Stanley 1992, 94, mentions also MS 17 and Cyp) add αὐτῶν.

⁴⁶⁹ This is also suggested in Koch 1986, 116 n. 3, though Paul characteristically repeats the word root in the same passage elsewhere.

in Psalm 9:28: the nouns *ἀρά* (“curse”) and *πικρία* (“bitterness”) appear next to each other,⁴⁷⁰ connected by *καί*.⁴⁷¹ Furthermore, Paul uses the third-person plural relative pronoun *ὧν*, instead of the singular *οὗ*.

In the literary context of the psalm, the one described as having a mouth full of curses and bitterness is “the sinner” (ὁ ἁμαρτωλός) mentioned in vv. 24 and 25 according to the LXX numbering of the psalm. The Psalmist identifies himself with “the poor” (ὁ πτωχός, v. 23) who laments why God stands far off (v. 22) “when the impious behaves arrogantly, [while] the poor is set on fire” (modified NETS, v. 23). In the latter part of verse 28, which Paul omits, the arrogance of the sinner appears to turn into his misery: “under his tongue are grief and hardship” (NETS, LXX Ps 9:28b). This overall literary context, and especially the parts that depicts the sinner, appears to fit well in Paul’s catena. On the other hand, the concluding parts of the psalm that express the triumph of “the orphans” (v. 39) and “the needy” (v. 38), once God has listened to them and done justice to them, do not fit Paul’s catena, which is why he has modified the verse he quotes.

4.2.6. Romans 3:15–16

Romans 3:15

ὁξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν
ἐκχέαι αἷμα,

Psalm 13:3i

[ὁξεῖς οἱ πόδες
αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι
αἷμα]

Isaiah 59:7a(–b)

οἱ δὲ πόδες αὐτῶν
ἐπὶ πονηρίαν
τρέχουσιν
ταχινοὶ ἐκχέαι αἷμα
(καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοὶ
αὐτῶν διαλογισμοὶ
ἀφρόνων)

Proverbs 1:16

οἱ γὰρ πόδες
αὐτῶν εἰς κακίαν
τρέχουσιν καὶ
ταχινοὶ τοῦ
ἐκχέαι αἷμα

⁴⁷⁰ The LXX deviates from the MT (MT Ps 10:7). Following the Hebrew word order, the LXX translates *נִזְנֶה* (“oath, curse”) using *ἀρά* (“curse”), while the LXX adds the noun *πικρία* (“bitterness”) before *מִדְּמָה* (“fraud, deceit”), translated as *δόλος* (“guile, treachery”), which is not attested in Paul’s catena. Rahlfs does not discuss this deviation between the MT and the LXX. Since the word *ἀρά* (“curse”) is used most often (21 occurrences out of 27) in the LXX to translate “oath” (*נִזְנֶה*), and *πικρία* (“bitterness”) normally corresponds to various Hebrew words, it is probable that the Greek equivalent *πικρία* was originally a gloss in the margin as a close semantic equivalent, after which it was accidentally added to the text by a later copyist.

⁴⁷¹ Stanley (1992, 95) points out that shifting the finite verb *γέμω* (“to be full of something, contain”) to the end of the verse puts the clause in agreement with the entire structure of the catena, where the finite verbs—aside from the emphatic *οὐκ ἔστιν*—appear at the end of the clause (cf. vv. 12a, 13b, 17).

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>Their feet are fast to shed blood,</u> | <u>[Their feet are fast to shed blood]</u> | <u>And their feet run to evil, swift to shed blood,</u> (and their reasonings are reasonings of fools) | <u>For their feet run to evil, and they are swift to shed blood.</u> |
| Romans 3:16 <u>σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν,</u> | Psalms 13:3j <u>[σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν]</u> | Isaiah 59:7c <u>σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν</u> | |
| <u>destruction and misery are in their paths,</u> | <u>[destruction and misery are in their paths]</u> | <u>destruction and misery are in their paths.</u> | |

Table 4.6: Romans 3:15–16 compared to its possible source texts and parallels

Verse 15 poses additional complications compared to the previous verse. Here, Paul quotes Isaiah 59:7, for which Proverbs 1:16 serves as a parallel.⁴⁷² However, it seems that Paul consulted the text form of Isaiah 59:7 since the text that follows in Romans comes from Isaiah 59:8, which is unparalleled in Proverbs.⁴⁷³ The two clauses (“And their feet run to evil, swift to shed blood”) are combined into one clause in Romans (“Their feet are fast to shed blood”), which is most probably to be attributed to Paul’s intentional modification.

Dietrich-Alex Koch points out that the omission of the middle part of Isaiah 59:7 (καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν διαλογισμοὶ ἄφρόνων) is parallel to Paul’s handling of Psalm 13(14)—namely, that Paul avoids any reference to the foolish (ἄφρων) by omitting the first part of verse 1 of Psalm 13(14).⁴⁷⁴ In this manner, Paul emphasizes the universality of misbehavior, not the misbehavior of a particular group as in Psalm 13(14) and Isaiah 59:7. This omission is exemplary of Paul’s intermittent use of

⁴⁷² The readings of Isa 59:7 and Prov 1:16 are identical in the MT (with the exception of *matres lectionis*), but the LXX translators render them with varying equivalents. In addition, the translator of Prov 1:16 adds τοῦ before the infinitive ἐκχέαι (“they [are] swift to shed blood”).

⁴⁷³ Contra Popkes (2015, 248), who argues that Paul cited Prov 1:16.

⁴⁷⁴ Koch 1986, 119. Thus also in Stanley 1992, 97–98.

scripture. His scriptural proofs of universal human culpability are sustainable only with these deliberate modifications.

Furthermore, Paul rewords his scriptural sources. The expression מָרַע is translated as ἐπὶ πονηρίαν in Isaiah and as εἰς κακίαν in Proverbs. In both, the verb מָהַר is translated with the adjective ταχινός + verb εἶναι. However, Paul uses the equivalent δξύς instead of ταχινός. Is this change deliberate, or did Paul use a source text that differs from the readings of Isaiah and Proverbs? The adjective δξύς represents a Pauline *hapax legomenon*, which occurs 19 times in the LXX,⁴⁷⁵ and 8 times in the New Testament, of which 7 instances appear in Revelation.⁴⁷⁶ Since the substitution is not characteristic of Pauline vocabulary, Paul might simply be following his *Vorlage* that deviates from the preserved LXX texts of both Isaiah and Proverbs.⁴⁷⁷

In addition to the word changes, Paul moves the adjective to the beginning, shortening the verse by omitting ἐπὶ πονηρίαν / εἰς κακίαν τρέχουσιν.

4.2.7. Romans 3:17

Romans 3:17

καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ
ἔγνωσαν

Psalm 13:3k

[καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ
ἔγνωσαν]

Isaiah 59:8

καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης
οὐκ οἶδασιν⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁵ The adjective δξύς corresponds to seven different Hebrew equivalents in the LXX: מָהַר, מָרַע, מָרַע, מָרַע, מָרַע, מָרַע, and מָרַע. The semantic field of the Greek δξύς is rather broad, carrying such meanings as “sharp” (4 Macc 9:26; 11:19; 14:10; Job 16:10; 41:30; Wis 18:15; Isa 5:28 [in Hebrew, hithpolel מָרַע]; 49:2; Ezek 5:1), “skilled” (Prov 22:29; Wis 7:22 [describing the spirit of Wisdom]; 8:11 [describing judgement]), and “fast” or “swift” (3Macc 2:23; 4:5; Ps 13:3; Amos 2:15; Hab 1:18). The adjective ταχινός occurs only five times in LXX, appearing with the verb εἶναι only in Prov 1:16 and Isa 59:7, translated from מָהַר.

⁴⁷⁶ Rev 1:16; 2:12; 14:14, 17; 18:18 (bis); 19:15. In each case, the adjective refers to a sharp weapon (sword or sickle), whereas in Pauline usage it simply denotes “quick, fast.”

⁴⁷⁷ Similarly, Albl (1999, 173 n. 59) attributes this deviation to a different *Vorlage*. Kujanpää (2019, 51) leaves the question of the origin of this change open, following Koch 1986, 144; Stanley 1992, 96.

⁴⁷⁸ The Alexandrian text group A⁻26 Q^{mg}-oI¹ 403¹ Clement, Eusebius, and Jerome have ἔγνωσαν. Furthermore, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus have the following reading: εσκαμβωθησαν (α' and θ') / εσκολιωθησαν (σ') αυτοις πας ο παντων αυτην ουκ **εγνω** ειρενην (Emphasis in bold mine). According to Ziegler (1983, 341), these variants have been influenced by Rom 3:17. Contra Kujanpää (2019, 51), who contends that Paul may simply follow his *Vorlage* that attests ἔγνωσαν since Paul's quotations of Isaiah are usually closer to the Alexandrian text than any other. See also Koch 1986, 48–50 on dealing

and the way of peace
they **have not known**.

[and the way of peace
they **have not known**.]

καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κρίσις ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς
αὐτῶν αἱ γὰρ τρίβοι αὐτῶν
διεστραμμέναι ἅς διοδεύουσιν
καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν εἰρήνην
And a way of peace they **do**
not know,
and there is no judgment in
their ways, for their paths,
through which they travel, are
crooked, and they do not know
peace.

Table 4.7: Romans 3:17 compared to its possible source texts and parallels

In verse 17, Paul deviates from the wording of Isaiah 59:8 by using the verb *ἔγνωσαν* instead of *οἶδασιν*. In addition, Paul uses a different verb tense: the aorist (*ἔγνωσαν*) instead of the perfect (*οἶδασιν*, which is present in meaning). This deviation appears again in Psalm 13:3k, which corroborates the argument that the alignment between these two texts is due to the influence of Romans 3:17. Is this change Pauline in origin? The difference between *οἶδα* and *γινώσκω* is only slight: the former carries the meaning “to have knowledge of,” whereas the latter, which Paul uses, means “to comprehend.” Thus, since the semantics between these words overlap in several cases, perhaps *γινώσκω* should be attributed to Paul’s *Vorlage*, from which he adopted it.⁴⁷⁹

with variant readings attested in the MS evidence in comparison to the quotations from Isaiah in Paul. In addition, the semantic difference between the two verbs is small, which makes it unlikely that Paul would have deliberately changed it. Thus, it is possible that Paul simply followed his *Vorlage*, which Kujanpää proposes to have read *ἔγνωσαν*.

⁴⁷⁹ Thus, Stanley (1992, 98), who still acknowledges the possibility that *γινώσκω*, which connotes personal responsibility, suits Paul’s argumentation better. This view is supported in Koch 1986, 143. See also the preceding footnote on the textual variant and Ziegler’s (1983) verdict on its Pauline origin.

4.2.8. Romans 3:18

Romans 3:18

οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ
ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν
αὐτῶν

There is no fear of God
before **their** eyes.

Psalm 13:31

[οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ
ἀπέναντι τῶν
ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν]

[there is no fear of God
before **their** eyes.]

Psalm 35:2

φησὶν ὁ παράνομος τοῦ
ἀμαρτάνειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ
οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ
ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν
αὐτοῦ

Says the transgressor of the
law in himself, in order to
sin:

there is no fear of God
before **his** eyes.

Table 4.8: Romans 3:18 compared to its possible source texts and parallels

In verse 18, Paul returns to quoting the psalms. He uses Psalm 35(36):2 with a minor change, rendering the third-person plural possessive pronoun (“*their* eyes”) instead of the third person singular (“*his* eyes”) as in the psalm. In the context of this psalm, the antecedent of the possessive pronoun (or suffix in Hebrew) is the wicked one (ὁ παράνομος / *γνρ*). In the Pauline context, however, as well as in LXX Psalm 13:31, the pronoun refers to the previously described evil-doers in plural: there is no fear of God before *their* eyes.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁸⁰ The preposition ἀπέναντι occurs 91 times in the LXX. In Deut 28:66, its function comes close to Paul’s use: καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωὴ σου κρεμασμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου καὶ φοβηθήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ οὐ πιστεύσεις τῇ ζωῇ σου. In Josh 24:1, it appears as an expression of the relationship with God: ἀπέναντι τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. similar uses, e.g., in 1 Chr 13:10; 17:16). As for the so-called anthropomorphic use, referring to God, cf., e.g., Jdt 11:13 (ἀπέναντι τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν); Hos 7:2 (ἀπέναντι τοῦ προσώπου μου); Isa 1:16 (ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου); Jer 16:17 (ὅτι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐκρύβη τὰ ἀδικήματα αὐτῶν ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου); Lam 2:19 (ἀπέναντι προσώπου κυρίου).

4.3. Discussion of the Origin of the Catena in Romans 3:10–18

George Brooke has identified five approaches that modern interpreters apply to this catena.⁴⁸¹ First, there are those who focus on the catena as scriptural proof that scripture applies to everybody—particularly those who fall under the authority of scripture.⁴⁸² Second, those who concentrate on the universal human vulnerability to sin as being central to Paul’s argument.⁴⁸³ Third, those who view the use of the catena as possessing rhetorical force, serving as “a kind of list of prosecution witnesses.”⁴⁸⁴ Fourth, those who claim that the catena enables Paul to hermeneutically conflate the righteous and the wicked, arguing that all are sinful.⁴⁸⁵ Finally, those who focus on the departure in the catena away from the original literary context of the quoted texts.⁴⁸⁶ While Brooke uses the anthropological terms in these scriptural texts as a key to understanding the catena (see further discussion below), I concentrate on the origins of the catena and its afterlife in textual transmission. Since I argue that Paul himself composed the catena, I concentrate on both text-critical questions and on the function of the catena in the litetary context of Paul’s letter.

The expansion in Psalm 13:3 appears broadly in various textual streams (B D R S* U 286) as well as in daughter translations of the LXX (Aeth Arab^{ParRom} Boh Lat Sah Syr) and seven minuscule manuscripts (115 174 180 189 191 227 273).⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸¹ Brooke (2015, 254) refers to Moyise (1994, 367–370), who similarly categorizes modern approaches to the catena. While Moyise’s classification deviates slightly from Brooke’s, since Moyise does not provide such a compact list of approaches, I follow Brooke’s categorization.

⁴⁸² Sanday and Headlam 1896, 74–75.

⁴⁸³ Robinson 1979, 36.

⁴⁸⁴ Brooke 2015, 254, referring to Dahl 1982, 184–204.

⁴⁸⁵ Dunn 1988, 149.

⁴⁸⁶ Edgar 1962, 56. Similarly, Stanley (1992) focuses on the original context of the quotations but emphasizes that this departure was not a concern for ancient authors (see Moyise 1994, 368).

⁴⁸⁷ Rahlfs (1907) 1965, 42, 52. In addition, the enlargement is preserved in MS 2019 (Lond²³⁰ = London, British Museum Papyrus 230), a manuscript found in the Fayum that contains Ps 11:7–14:4 and is dated to the end of the third century CE. Rahlfs (15–16) groups the papyrus together with B, S, and the Bohairic text. For the first publication of the papyrus with a facsimile and a transcription of the psalms, see *Athenaeum* 1894, 319–321. See also Jellicoe 1968, 228. For a detailed discussion, see Milne (ed.) 1927, 173 who dates the manuscript—a papyrus with script both sides, the psalms on its recto and Isocrates’s *Ad Demonium* 26–28 on its verso side—to the third or fourth century: “Mistakes both of sense and spelling are frequent. Over the lines of the text down to the end of Ps. xiii a series of dots as

On the other hand, the following witnesses attest to the shorter text:

1. Codex Alexandrinus (A), dating to the fourth or fifth century
2. Manuscript 55, dating to the 10th century
3. The Lucianic text and Theodoret's Psalter commentary which follows it.⁴⁸⁸
4. Although Jerome's Psalter commentary (Ga) contains the expansion, it is marked by an *obelus*, which indicates that it was lacking from the Hebrew text.

The simplest explanation for the shorter text-form in these witnesses is that they attest the earlier text. However, in A and the Lucianic text the shorter reading might be explained as a Hexaplaric omission: Since the Hebrew text lacks the expansion,⁴⁸⁹ it is conceivable that it was omitted in the Hexapla. This, further, might have led to its omission in A and the Lucianic text,⁴⁹⁰ both of which sporadically attest Hexaplaric readings. Only fragments of Origen's Hexapla are preserved, and none contain

the syllables marked off, but by the original hand. No doubt both texts were used for reading exercises." Further in the description of the verso side it is stated (213): "Each syllable is spaced and marked off with a medial dot [...] Meant for reading or, as Crönert suggest, shorthand exercise. The Psalms on the recto have had a system of dots added for the same purpose. [...] but great liberties have been taken as well as many mistakes committed. Perhaps dictated or written from memory, which might explain the intrusion of echoes from different parts of the work."

⁴⁸⁸ Rahlfs includes about 150 younger minuscule manuscripts collated by Holmes and Parsons that attest the Lucianic text. In total, 96 of these that attest to Ps 13 lack the expansion. The earliest (39 / E) of these minuscule manuscripts dates to the ninth century CE. See Rahlfs (1907) 1965, 7, 171; (1931) 1979, 60–68, § 7.1–6. The Lucianic text, which bears the name of Lucian the martyr, is also called the Antiochian text since the Antiochian Church Fathers Chrysostom and Theodoret cite scripture according to the Lucianic text. Lucian was a presbyter who died a martyr's death in 311 or 312 and who made a new recension at the end of third century. Since he worked under the influence of the so-called atticising movement, he standardized mixed-Greek (Hellenistic) forms, such as ἐλάβοσαν in the LXX to Attic ἐλάβον. Lucian's recension attained great popularity and was widely circulated: it was used in Constantinople, the capital of the Roman Empire in the East. According to Jerome, Lucian's version was predominant in the entire area from Antioch to Constantinople by 400 CE.

⁴⁸⁹ This assumption follows the evidence from Qumran—namely, 11QPsc^c (11Q7), which is dated to the first century CE and which attests Ps 14(MT):3 without the enlargement. See above n. 464; cf. DJD 23, p. 55. In addition, a preserved text from Nahal Hever, 5/6 HevPsalms (Plates XXV–XXVII, Col. VI, fragments 3 + 1 iv; DJD 38 [2000] pp. 141–143) attests to a shorter form of the psalm. Ziegler (1983, 27) also characterizes A as bearing secondary corrections with regard to Isa, independent of the (proto-)Masoretic text.

⁴⁹⁰ Karrer and Schmid (2010, 171, n. 32) offer similar speculations, though they view A as corrected according to the Lucianic text, noting (170, 194–195) corrections in Codex Sinaiticus—diplai, i.e. "bracket shaped signs" identifying that the lines do not "belong to the text" (171),—marking 26 lines of the text made by a corrector "sometime between the 5th and 7th centuries" (171).

material from Psalm 13(14). However, Jerome, who marks the expansion in LXX Psalm 13:3 with an *obelus* in his *Psalterum Gallicanum*, serves as an indirect witness that the expansion was marked also in Origen's Hexapla.⁴⁹¹

Some scholars have claimed that the catena represents a later interpolation in Romans and should thus not be attributed to Paul.⁴⁹² In my view, however, this thesis is unlikely since Paul's argumentation does not work without the catena of quotations, and the text would not flow smoothly without it. Another possibility is that the catena might represent a pre-Pauline Jewish or Early Christian composition that Paul used to compose his epistle.⁴⁹³ Previous scholars have even suggested that such a catena might have served a liturgical function.⁴⁹⁴ However, no pre-Pauline or contemporary witness exists in which the same composition appears. In theory, it is possible that a catena parallel to the one used by Paul would have been in some sort of use during Paul's writing activity and hence at his disposal as such, and further, that the attestation of the catena pre-dating Paul's letter would subsequently have disappeared. If this was the case, the catena would indeed fit Paul's use of it suspiciously well, which makes the hypothesis unlikely. In contrast, it is more likely that Paul composed the catena on his own, possibly using an anthology he had collected beforehand when he had access to a written source.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹¹ Rahlfs ([1907] 1965, 140) surmises that this implies that Jerome used Origen's Hexapla, where the same place would also have been marked with an *obelus*.

⁴⁹² Schenke 1967, 885: "Nach alledem erhebt sich für mich die Frage, ob das Problem der Sphinxgestalt des Schriftzitats sich nicht am besten literarkritisch lösen läßt, d. h., ob nicht ursprünglich V 19b die direkte Fortsetzung von V 9b ist und ob entsprechend das Schriftzitat (V 10–18) samt V 19a nicht als eine sekundäre Einschaltung angesehen werden sollte."

⁴⁹³ Albl 1999; Karrer and Schmid 2010.

⁴⁹⁴ Michel 1955, 143, formulates his claim cautiously but still suggests the possibility of the liturgical purpose of the catena: "[e]s besteht die Möglichkeit, daß schon das Judentum Zitatenkompositionen zu katechetischen und apologetischen Zwecken geschaffen hat und daß die alte Kirche solche übernommen und ähnliche neu geschaffen hat. Die besondere Kunstform unseres Psalmes weist mehr auf eine liturgische als auf katechetische Abzweckung." Cf. Cranfield 1975, 192: "it is possible that this particular cento was already in use in Christian worship and that Paul adopted it for his present purpose; but, in any case, it is thoroughly apposite here."

⁴⁹⁵ See sub-sec. 1.2.3 of this study. Stanley (1992, 74–77) lists several parallel phenomena in ancient literature—in Greek and Latin as well in Jewish religious texts. For instance, in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, 1.6.14 (καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν παλαιοῦν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κατέλιπον ἐν βιβλίοις γράψαντες, ἀνετίττων κοινῇ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις διέρχομαι, καὶ ἂν τι ὁρώμεν ἀγαθὸν ἐκλεγόμεθα), the verb ἐκλέγω means to "collect." Stanley (1992, 74–77) further notes that Aristotle, *Topics* 1.14, encourages taking notes from

As for the later attestation of the catena, Justin Martyr (c. 100–165 CE) offers the earliest witness of it in its Pauline form in his *Dialogue with Trypho* 27.2ff. There are three possible explanations for this: 1) Justin depends on Paul; 2) Justin uses the already extended LXX Ps *Vorlage*; 3) Justin used the same source, either Jewish or Christian in origin, that was possibly behind Paul’s catena.⁴⁹⁶ I argue that Justin most likely used Paul’s composition in Romans 3:10–18,⁴⁹⁷ as the context in Justin hints at a reliance on Paul—namely, the entire dialogue is written in an apologetic and polemical tone against Judaism.⁴⁹⁸ The accusations levelled against Jews in Paul’s Letter to the Romans (Rom 2:17–24; 9:31–33; 10:14–11:11) more directly inspires this manner of use of the psalm than does their original context.

In sum, the most plausible explanation is that Paul modified the text he quoted, and a later copyist inserted Paul’s wording into some recensions of LXX Psalm 13.⁴⁹⁹ This is supported also by other evidence from the late Second Temple period, since there are parallel phenomena for the compiling of catenae from a number of sources. Philo of Alexandria provides a comparandum among Paul’s contemporaries of compiling different psalms in one quotation formula.⁵⁰⁰ In addition, there are

written sources. Plutarch, *Peri Euthymias*, 464f, explicitly describes Plutarch’s practice of using notebooks (ὑπομνήματα) to compose a literary work. In the Latin-speaking world, Cicero, *De inventione* 2.4, similarly describes how he first collected all of the works on a particular subject then excerpted (*excerpimus*) “what seemed the most suitable precepts from each.” (Cited in Stanley 1992, 74–77.)

⁴⁹⁶ Keck (1977, 150) claims that Justin’s parallel “provides evidence that Rom 3:10–18 once existed independently. [...] Since it is not clear why Justin would have abbreviated Rom 3:10–18, it appears that he relies on a shorter (earlier?) version of the same catena.” On Justin Martyr’s quotation techniques, see Skarsaune 1987.

⁴⁹⁷ Koch (1986, 182) similarly argues that Justin depended on Paul, with either Justin quoting Paul directly or using the text form of the psalm already influenced by the Pauline reading: “[u]mfangreichere Zitatumgestaltungen, die nicht auf Paulus zurückgreift, liegen nicht vor.”

⁴⁹⁸ Further on this discussion, see Skarsaune 1996, 585–611.

⁴⁹⁹ For previous studies advocating this thesis, see note 452 above.

⁵⁰⁰ In *Somn.* 2.245–246, Philo uses the quotation formula “one of the disciples of Moses says” (τις τῶν ἐταίρων Μωυσέως ἐν ὕμνοις εἶπεν), introducing Ps 64(65):10, then simply adds “another song” (καὶ ἕτερον ᾠσμα τοιοῦτον) before the next quotation from Ps 45(46):5. In *Imm.* 74–82, he quotes Pss 100(101):1; 74(75):9; 61(62):12. Only the first quotation is marked with a quotation formula (“the psalm-singer says somewhere”; καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ὕμνωδὸς εἶπέ σου), whereas the second quotation is preceded more vaguely by “elsewhere it says” (ἐν ἑτέροις εἰρηγται), as with the third quotation (καὶ τὸ ἐτέρωθι λεχθέν). For more on Philo’s use of the psalms, see Leonhardt 2001. However, Leonhardt does not argue whether the deviation in the wording between Philo’s quotations and the LXX text should be traced back to issues caused by memory lapses, deliberate changes, or the use of a different text (cf. pp. 152–153).

numerous examples from Qumran: Florilegium (4Q174),⁵⁰¹ as well as 4Q158, 4Q177, and 4Q176,⁵⁰² although these latter parallels could also be seen fostering the opposite argument, according to which Paul used a pre-composed catena similar to Qumran florilegia.

Paul's composition in Romans 3:10–18 later appeared in one LXX manuscript of Psalm 13, possibly initially in the margin, which a later copyist might then have inserted into the text. This provides one possibility for how that composition could have eventually spread more broadly into various textual streams (B D R S* U 286) as well as into daughter translations (Aeth Arab^{ParRom} Boh Lat Sah Syr) and minuscule manuscripts (115 174 180 189 191 227 273). At which point during the textual transmission did this addition emerge in LXX Psalm 13 remains difficult to determine, but it must have occurred at a very early stage to have become distributed so widely. The earliest evidence (MS 2019) attesting the addition dates to the end of the third century CE.⁵⁰³

Compared to the other quotations in the genuine Pauline letters, the catena in Romans 3 represents the only example in which Paul inserts such a long catena of quotations into his letter without interrupting the quotation with explanatory notes.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰¹ See Brooke 1985.

⁵⁰² Stanley (1992, 76–77) lists these as parallels to Paul's hypothetical practice of creating excerpts. For the reconstruction of these manuscripts, see the initial DJD 5. For more recent studies on 4Q174 and 4Q177, see Steudel 1994 and Willgren Davage 2019.

⁵⁰³ See discussion above in n. 487. As for the Hebrew witnesses to Ps 14, 11QPs^c (11Q7) and 5/6 H^{ev}Psalms, both dated to the first century CE, attest Ps 14(MT):3 without the expansion.

⁵⁰⁴ Paul also uses combined quotations in Rom 9:25–29; 10:18–21; 11:8–10. These instances differ from Rom 3:10–18, however, in that Paul inserts a quotation formula (“Hosea says,” “But Isaiah cries out about Israel,” “And as Isaiah has said before”) at the beginning of each quotation. I do not consider the lack of an interpretive quotation formulae as proof of non-Pauline origin of the catena. The argument *e silentio*—namely, from the lack of interpretive formulae—does not undermine the argument for the Pauline origin of the catena. It is noteworthy that there are other passages that are considered pre-Pauline but for which no written sources pre-dating Paul are preserved. The passage in Phil 2:6–11 provides an interesting case among the genuine Pauline letters: the form of this passage suggests that it is a hymn, and it is considered to be of pre-Pauline origin. However, the style of the hymn does not resemble Greek hymnody nor poetry, which is why its origin is surmised to be Semitic. Still, this hymn is not like the hymnody of the Hebrew or Greek Psalms either (Fee 1995, 40–41). For a comparison of the Philippinian hymn to the hymnic material of the New Testament, see Martin 1967. Cf. the passage in 1 Cor 11:23–26 which is likewise considered to be a pre-Pauline tradition. Nevertheless, these passages that are considered to have derived from pre-Pauline traditions and for which sources are not preserved in written form prior to Paul comprise a different type of example compared to the catena at hand since

One possible explanation for why explanatory notes were not added could be stylistic considerations: interpretive interruptions and additional quotation formulae would have distorted the flow of the catena.⁵⁰⁵ It has also been noted that Paul’s use of language concerning physicality as catchwords, makes the catena more coherent.⁵⁰⁶ The texts that contain anthropological terms to describe the wicked and sinful person, which Paul quotes in Romans 3:10–18, form a coherent theme. Paul appears to use them as catchwords as follows:

| | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------|
| Psalm 5:10 | throat, ὁ λάρυγξ – tongue, ἡ γλῶσσα | Rom 3:13 |
| Psalm 139(140):4 | lip, τὸ χεῖλος | Rom 3:13 |
| Psalm 10:7 | mouth, τὸ στόμα | Rom 3:14 |
| Isaiah 59:7 (Prov 1:16) | foot, ὁ πούς | Rom 3:15 |
| Psalm 35(36):2 | eye, ὁ ὀφθαλμός | Rom 3:18 |

Table 4.9: Comparison of physical terms occurring in the psalms and Paul’s catena

Brooke, among others,⁵⁰⁷ analyzes this element of the Pauline catena,⁵⁰⁸ identifying the character of different body parts mentioned in the catena as portraying various emotions—more specifically, as either active or passive aspects of the subject. In the

a possible—and in my view most probable—source for the catena is preserved: the LXX psalms and the passage from Isaiah which Paul modifies.

⁵⁰⁵ Thus also in Kujanpää 2019, 45.

⁵⁰⁶ Some scholars have compared Paul’s use of physical catchwords to an exegetical method or principle that appears later in the rabbinic literature known as *gēzērāh šāwāh*. For different examples of this in Paul, see Avemarie 2013, 345–391, esp. 375–376. See also discussion on pp. 41–42 and in subsecs. 4.3 and 5.3 of this study.

⁵⁰⁷ Fitzmyer 1992, 333–340; cf., e.g., Albl 1999, 172.

⁵⁰⁸ Brooke (2015, 255) further specifies that these anthropological terms do not function as catchwords as such, since this rhetorical device would require the repetition of the same or a similar word, not thematically linked words.

Hebrew Bible, inner body parts, such as bones and organs, are used to describe the state of the passive self under threat from “the other” more often than to describe one’s emotional state.⁵⁰⁹ In contrast, visible body parts (e.g., the hands and feet, as well as facial parts like the lips, mouth, eyes, nose, and ears) represent the active self—that is, the deeds and intentions of both the wicked and the righteous. At times, the same body part can be used to represent either forms of agency. For instance, the heart may illustrate a loss of courage in a passive role or can function as the seat of cognition in an active role.⁵¹⁰

Furthermore, the anthropological terminology invokes a group identity—not only Jewish or gentile, but the identity of all humankind before the divine. Thus, in the catena, by using the terminology of active body parts, Paul creates the image of a single person in which—in contrast to the quoted psalms—all humanity is considered as being inclined towards sinful actions. Brooke therefore concludes that an important part of the argument for Paul is “that all humans share the same identity before God.”⁵¹¹

4.4. Paul’s Use of Psalmic Lamentation Language

Sin is of great interest to Paul, but did confessional formulae or penitential prayers exist in late Second Temple Judaism? In so far as the hypothesis that the catena would have originated either from Jewish or Christian liturgical use, it is worth examining the possible function of such a context of the quoted psalms. I will first discuss the classical from-critical views of lamentation and penitential prayers, and then show, in light of more recent psalms scholarship, that there are similar motifs in Paul’s use of lamentation language compared to the texts of his contemporaries. Nevertheless, even

⁵⁰⁹ Brooke 2015, 251.

⁵¹⁰ Brooke 2015, 251. It is noteworthy that Psalm 13(14), with which Paul starts the catena, contains the word “heart” ἡ καρδία in verse 1, describing the thoughts of the wicked one’s heart, but Paul does not quote this part since he frames the quotation as applying to all human beings, not only wicked ones. In addition, Pss 9(10) and 139(140), which Paul quotes, contain the word heart, describing the ungodly thoughts of the wicked ones or evildoers. An exception to this negative image is LXX Ps 9:38, where God strengthens the heart of the poor.

⁵¹¹ Brooke 2015, 258.

if there are similar motifs between the sources, there is not enough information about the context of the communal or private use of these texts and, thus, no direct evidence of their liturgical use.

4.4.1. Psalms of Lamentation and Penitential Psalms

To begin with modern scholars, Walter Brueggemann includes into his group of seven penitential psalms MT Pss 32, 51, 49, 73, 90, 130, 143.⁵¹² Brueggemann places these psalms under the main category of “Psalms of Disorientation,” which includes a psalm of conflict speech (MT Ps 139),⁵¹³ some of the individual laments (MT Pss 13, 35, 86), and some of the communal laments (MT Pss 74, 79, 137).⁵¹⁴ These psalms portray the disorientation caused by Yahweh’s abandonment, Israel’s infidelity, or a “third-party hostility.”⁵¹⁵ Contrary to this etiology of the unfortunate plight of the petitioner, according to the seven penitential psalms listed by Brueggemann, the disorientation seems to be caused by the petitioner’s own culpability. Nevertheless, Brueggemann admits that one must be cautious when distinguishing individual from communal guilt with regard to ancient Israelite thinking.⁵¹⁶

As for different ways of defining penitential prayers, Rodney A. Werline argues that penitential prayer “[...] is a direct address to God in which an individual or group confesses sins and petitions for forgiveness. Frequently, the petitioner hopes that the prayer will also be the first step toward removing the problems facing the community or the petitioner.”⁵¹⁷ Werline further points out elsewhere that “[...] sin brings

⁵¹² Brueggemann 1984, 94–121.

⁵¹³ For more on these type of psalms, see Janowski 2013.

⁵¹⁴ Brueggemann 1984, 51–78. In addition, Brueggemann (77–88) also mentions MT Pss 88 and 109, labeling them as “two Problem Psalms” since they do not fit his categories of aforementioned groups, though they still carry some elements of disorientation. While Ps 88 focuses on the absence of God, Ps 109 “is concerned for vindictiveness toward other human beings who have seriously violated the speaker” (81).

⁵¹⁵ Brueggemann 1984, 94.

⁵¹⁶ Brueggemann 1984, 95.

⁵¹⁷ Werline 1998, 2. The primary interest of Werline’s study is not the prayer of an individual, such as MT Ps 51 or the Prayer of Mannasseh, but instead the prayers on behalf of a community, since his study “seeks to understand penitential prayer as a religious institution” (2–3). According to Werline (3), “[a]n action becomes a religious institution when a religious community generally accepts it, practices it, and prescribes a basic function for it.” Hence, the above-mentioned psalms do not fit the category; rather,

problems upon the people and thus interrupts the normal flow of life.” This is described by Werline as liminality, i.e. that which is “outside of the divinely determined order for the world.”⁵¹⁸

Essential to the Second Temple penitential prayer is the view of change: how can an individual or a community remove sin. In Paul, the case is somewhat different, though he relies on the same tradition. For him, sin appears to be an essential part of humanity. This understanding is comparable to what is found in Paul’s contemporaries. For example, in the *Hodayot* of Qumran, the speaker describes himself as a wicked creature.⁵¹⁹ In these examples, the line can be drawn horizontally between individuals (or groups) on the one hand, and vertically between the divine and the creature on the other hand. Carol Newsom, from whom I have adopted this terminology of division, has examined the *Hodayot* from a social-identity perspective, which aptly illustrates the different functions of expressing one’s sinfulness.⁵²⁰ While horizontal differentiation aims to foster group-identity (from the profane [horizontal] other—e.g., in 1QH^a V, 1–6:7), vertical differentiation functions as a recognition of

the prose poetry of 1 Kgs 8:22–53; Ezra 9:5–15; Neh 1:4–11; 9:6–37; Dan 9:3–19; Bar 1:15 – 3:8; the Prayer of Azariah; Tob 3:1–6; 3 Macc 2:1–10; and “The Words of the Heavenly Lights” (4Q504) more clearly represent penitential elements (Werline 1998, 1). Further, Werline (2007, 17–32, 20) states that “penitential prayers and acts of contrition declare that something has gone wrong in the world and highlight that wrong. The wrong, of course, relates to the people’s relationship to the divine, which is broken down because of what the prayers term as ‘sin.’[...] [P]enitential prayers [...] mark a beginning point toward restoration of the individual and the world [...]” Boda (1999, 28) identifies six characteristic elements of penitential prayer: 1) praise; 2) supplication (a. depiction of need, b. muted lament, c. implicit request); 3) confession of sin (a. admission of culpability, b. declaration of solidarity with former generations, c. consistent use of the hitp. of יָדָה); 4) history (a. anthological use of historical sources, b. use of the contrast motif (divine grace / Israel’s disobedience); 5) themes (a. covenant, b. land, c. law); and 6) purpose. See also the discussion on the definition of penitential prayer in Boda, Falk, and Werline 2006; Balentine 1993.

⁵¹⁸ Werline, 2007, 21. The liminal view of sin stems from the priestly conception of pollution, cultic impurity, as sin.

⁵¹⁹ 1QH^a IV, 30–31 (DJD 40 XII, 31–2): “[b]ut as for me, I know that the righteousness does not belong to humankind nor perfection of way to a mortal. To God Most High belongs all the work of righteousness [...]”; 7.17, 28–29 [DJD 40 XV, 21, 32 – 34]; 13.16–17 [DJD 40 V, 31–36]; 16.11; [DJD 40 VIII, 28]; 11QPs^a 155.8. For the numerous passages Hebrew Bible / Septuagint attesting to this view of sin inherently belonging to human existence, see Cover 1992, 32–33.

⁵²⁰ Newsom 2004, 209–210.

divine superiority (from the divine [vertical] other—e.g., in 1QH^a VII, 25–33).⁵²¹ In the Pauline example of the re-use of lamentation psalms, we can encounter a combination of these functions: at the same time, Paul draws a *vertical* distinction between God and humans by quoting the lamentation psalms, which *horizontally* separates themselves from the wicked “other.”

Next, I will discuss how Paul uses the language of the lamentation psalms (Pss 5:10; 10:7 [LXX 9:28]; 35[36]:2; 140[139]:4) from a lexical point of view and how he combines the vocabulary of these psalms with penitential language. The psalms address the antagonist of the psalmist in different ways, whereas Paul refers to all humanity with the same vocabulary. In the following table, I list the vocabulary used to refer to the “other” (left half: Vocabulary of “the other”) and that used to describe the psalmic protagonist (right half: Vocabulary of “the righteous” or “me”):

| <i>Psalm</i> | <i>Vocabulary of the “other”</i> | <i>English translation</i> | <i>Vocabulary of “the righteous ones” or “me”</i> | <i>English translation</i> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Ps 5</i> | παράνομος (v. 6) | lawless | | |
| | ὁ ἐργαζόμενος | the doer of | | |
| | τὴν ἀνομίαν | iniquity / evil / | | |
| | (v. 6) | lawlessness | | |
| | λαλοῦντες τὸ | ones who speak | | |
| | ψεῦδος (v. 7) | falsehood | | |
| | ἄνθρωποι αἱμάτων | man of blood | | |
| <i>LXX Ps 9; verse numbering according to LXX (MT Ps 9:1–21 + 10:1–18)</i> | καὶ δόλιον (v. 7) | and deceit | | |
| | ἐχθρός (v. 9) | enemy | ἐγώ (v. 9) | me |
| | ἐχθρός (μου) | my enemy | ἐγώ | me |
| | (vv. 4, 7, 14, 26 | | (vv. 4, 5, 14) | |
| | [ἐχθρός αὐτοῦ]) | | | |

⁵²¹ I would also include 1QH^a V, 1–6:7 (according to the line numbering of DJD 40) as describing a profane horizontal other.

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Ps 13 (14)</i> | ἁμαρτωλός (vv. 17, 18, 24, 25, 36) | sinner | πένης (vv. 10, 13, 19, 29, 31, 33, 38) | poor |
| | | | οἱ ἐκζητῶν σε (v. 11) | the one who seek you out |
| | ἀδικῶν (v. 24) | evildoer | πτωχός (vv. 19, 23, 30, 35) | poor |
| | ἀσεβής (vv. 6, 23, 34) | ungodly | ὀρφανός, ταπεινός (v. 39) | orphan, oppressed |
| | ὁ πονηρός (v. 36) | the (morally) bad | | |
| | ἄφρων (v. 1) | foolish | συνιών (v. 2) | understanding, wise |
| | | | ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν (v. 2) | one who seeks God |
| | ὁ ἐργαζόμενος τὴν ἀνομίαν (v. 4) | The doer of iniquity / evil / lawlessness | ὁ λαός μου (v. 4) | my people |
| | | | γενεὰ δικαία (v. 5) | righteous generation |
| | ὕμεις (v. 6) | you | πτωχός (v. 6) | poor |
| <i>Ps 35 (36)</i> | παράνομος (v. 2) | lawless | | |
| <i>Ps 139 (140)</i> | ἁμαρτωλός (v. 11) | sinner | οἱ γινώσκουσιν σε (v. 11) | the ones who know you |
| | ὁ ἐργαζόμενος τὴν ἀνομίαν (v. 13) | the doer of iniquity / evil / lawlessness | | |
| | ἄνθρωπος πονηρός (v. 2) | bad / evil / violent person | ἐγώ (vv. 2, 5) | me |
| | ἄνθρωπος ἀδίκος (vv. 2, 5) | unjust / wicked person | | |
| | αὐτοί (vv. 4, 10, 11) | they | | |
| | | | | |

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| ἁμαρτωλός (vv. 5, 9) | sinner | | |
| ἄνθρωπος γλωσσώδης (v. 12) | slanderer (literary, “talkative man”) | πένης, πτωχός (v. 13) | poor |
| ἄνθρωπος ἀδίκος (v. 12) | unjust / wicked man | δίκαιος (v. 14) | righteous |

Table 4.10: The vocabulary of the “other” and the “righteous” in the psalms quoted in Romans 3:10–18

Psalm 5 describe “lawless” people, those who “do iniquity” and “speak falsehood,” men of “blood and deceit”—“enemies” against “me” (Ps 5:9). Paul quotes this psalm verbatim (leaving out the first cola) from verse 10, which refers to the antagonist simply as “they.” This is in line with Paul’s rendering throughout the catena, as he uses generic pronouns (such as “they” in vv. 13, 14, 15, 16, 18 or “all” in v. 12).

Psalms 10 (LXX 9) exploits the dichotomy of “the ungodly” (ὁ ἀσεβής), “the sinner” (ὁ ἁμαρτωλός), “the evildoer” (ὁ ἀδικῶν Ps 9:24), and “the morally bad” (ὁ πονηρός 9:36) against “the poor” (ὁ πτωχός 9:23, 35; ὁ πένης 9:33, 38), “the orphan,” and “the oppressed” (ὁρφανός, ταπεινός 9:39). Again, Paul generalizes this description, addressing all the enemies of God (οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ v. 9:26) by only partially quoting from verse 9:28 (MT 10:7) in Rom 3:14. While the psalm does use third-person singular pronouns in verses 27–28 to address the enemies, Paul changes this to the more general third-person plural pronoun: “*Their* mouths are full of cursing and bitterness.”

In Ps 13(14), the juxtaposition between “the other” and “the righteous” is more ambiguous. The latter group, the understanding ones and those who seek out God, exist in the realm of possibility: “the Lord peered down from the sky on the sons of men to see *if there was* any who had understanding or who sought after God” (Ps 13[14]:2). In Rom 3:11, Paul modifies this optimistic possibility into a negative statement: “*there is no one* who understands, *there is no one* who seeks God.” In contrast to the description of those who understand and seek God, the juxtaposition between “the doer of lawlessness” (ὁ ἐργαζόμενος τὴν ἀνομίαν) and “my people” (ὁ λαός μου) in verse 4 of the psalm does not fit Paul’s framework at all, nor does he use

the positive description of the righteous generation mentioned in verse 5 (γενεά δικαία) or of the “poor” (πτωχός) in verse 6, which occurs 34 times in the LXX Psalms.

Ps 35(36) is more abundant in vocabulary used to designate the out-group than to designate the in-group. The psalmist uses words that are cognate to νομός (law), such as παράνομος (v. 2, lawless) and ὁ ἐργαζόμενος τὴν ἀνομίαν (v. 13, “the doer of iniquity / lawlessness”). Since Paul uses the language of the law ambivalently,⁵²² it seems that vocabulary derived from this word-group is not used by Paul to refer to his addressees—neither positively or negatively. The psalm also employs the word ἁμαρτωλός, “sinner” (v. 11), which could fit Paul’s vocabulary in the catena. In any case, Paul quotes from verse 2 of the psalm, changing the singular pronoun to plural: “there is no fear of God before *their* eyes.” While the psalm verse describes the thoughts of the lawless (παράνομος), mentioned in the previous cola of verse 2, Paul reduces the quotation to a pejorative description, leaving out the other side, namely, “those who understand you” (i.e., the Lord; οἱ γινώσκουσίν σε; v. 11).

Lastly, Ps 139(140) speaks of the “evil/bad/violent person” (ἄνθρωπος πονηρός; v. 2), the “unjust / wicked person” (ἄνθρωπος ἀδίκος; vv. 2, 5), the “sinner” (ἁμαρτωλός; vv. 5, 9), the “slanderer” (ἀνὴρ γλωσσώδης, literally “talkative man”; v. 12), and the “wicked man” (ἀνὴρ ἀδίκος; v. 12), or, more generally, “they” (αὐτοί; vv. 4, 10, 11). These negative attributes are juxtaposed with “me” (ἐγώ; vv. 2, 5), “the poor ones” (πτωχός and πένης; v. 13), and “the righteous ones” (δίκαιος; v. 14). Paul quotes verbatim from verse 4: the “poison of snakes is under their lips.” This description applies to the unjust and wicked people mentioned in verse 2. Paul does not take the view-point of the psalmist who prays to God for protection from the wicked, but rather changes the description of evil to apply to humankind universally.

In sum, Paul shapes the quoted verses in a way that omits the dichotomy of the wicked enemy and the righteous “us” or “me.” Contrary to the context of the psalms, Paul applies the negative image of the enemy as a universal description of humankind. In doing so, Paul transforms the negative image of the enemy described in the psalms into a description of the plight of a wicked one. However, within the context of Romans, the wicked one does not appear to belong to an out-group, but rather denotes

⁵²² See, e.g., Räisänen (1983) 1987.

all humankind. Thus, he transforms the lamentation language of the psalms into a description resembling penitential language in which the speaker identifies her/himself with the wicked other. However, the confession of sins is lacking in Paul's catena, and hence it cannot be labelled as penitential language. The non-universalistic theology of Ps 9, which praises the cleansing of gentiles from the land: ἀπολείσθε ἔθνη ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ (Ps 9:37 LXX) is also striking. This kind of theology would obviously not fit Paul's aim in Romans 3, where he shows that all are wicked in order to foster inclusion of gentiles in salvation.

4.5. Conclusions on the Use of Psalms in Romans 3

Concerning the origin of the catena in Romans 3:10–18, I find it improbable that Paul would have quoted a pre-existing enlarged text of LXX Psalm 13:3, as some scholars have claimed.⁵²³ Hypothetically, it is possible that Paul could have quoted his *Vorlage* verbatim, which, in theory (however doubtful), could be attested in the expanded form of later LXX manuscripts (excluding A, 55, seven minuscules, and the Lucianic Text). Scholars of this camp argue that we cannot claim that he changed anything at all. I find this explanation unlikely since the expansion of LXX Psalm 13:3—according to the witnesses above—follows Paul's composition verbatim, whereas the wordings in parallel instances (Pss 5:10; 10:7 [9:28]; 14[13]:1–3; 36[35]:2; 140[139]:4; Isa 59:7–8) deviate from the Pauline quotations.

My hypothesis is supported by the following arguments: first, no other cases of this phenomenon exist. Paul does not quote such an extensive passage from a single location of scripture in his letters. Rather, he conflates quotations from different sources. Second, the enlarged LXX Psalm 13 follows Paul's composition verbatim, whereas wordings in parallel instances deviate from the Pauline quotation. The most plausible explanation for these deviations is that Paul modified the text he was quoting, while Paul's wording was later copied in manuscripts of LXX Psalm 13. Third, the deviations between the LXX and the catena are, in many cases, characteristic of Paul: when Paul quotes only part of the text, the quoted portions are well-suited to his

⁵²³ See note 453 above.

context. This, in my view, shows that the catena does not have a pre-Pauline origin. I must admit that Paul could have modified a fixed composition of these psalms, if we presume that such a composition was at his disposal. Nevertheless, as long as we do not possess any evidence of such a composition that pre-dates Paul, we cannot substantiate this hypothesis. Finally, one must bear in mind that we do not have direct access to the text that a) Paul wrote or b) that he (one way or another) cited. A further complication in some cases, then, is that the LXX manuscripts were later harmonized with Paul's wording, as I have argued in this chapter. The catena of quotations in Romans 3 serves as an example of one such case in which the LXX was harmonized according to a New Testament writing.

Furthermore, the catena in Romans 3:10–18 shows that Paul conflated Isaiah with psalms that used lamentation language and imagery of the wicked other, the latter in a synecdochic manner by referring to their body parts. I thus disagree with the view that these texts had all been compiled and used for specific purposes in the late Second Temple period prior to Paul. What would the function of such a catena be outside its context in Romans? Rather, I find it most plausible that Paul arranged them himself. In the context of Romans 3 and Paul's overall goals in the epistle, the hostile imagery in the catena serves as a scriptural proof-text for universal sinfulness. Furthermore, Paul can be understood as creating a new group identity, integrating different ethnic groups. Throughout the entire passage (Rom 3:10–18), Paul tackles the problems that emerge in the tension between particularism (God's promises to his chosen people) and universalism (salvation promised also to gentiles through faith).

5 Paired and Individually Occurring Quotations from Psalms in Paul

The aim of this chapter is to identify and analyze the paired quotations from psalms in Paul's genuine letters. First, I analyze why Paul chooses the particular psalm pairs that he does: is there a pre-Pauline tradition behind the particular pairs Paul uses? Second, I examine their function in comparison to individually occurring quotations. By paired quotations, I mean a loose combination of two source texts, which has been labelled as *composite quotations* or *citations* in previous research. Adams and Ehorn define a composite citation as comprising two or more different texts fused together without the use of conjunctions to bridge the two sources.⁵²⁴ In addition, they specify that citations should not be considered composites if the authors explicate that they are citing from several sources.⁵²⁵ My own grouping of paired quotations does not quite follow these definitions of composite citations since the pairings can contain conjunctions or explicatory words. However, the examples I present in the following sections differ in form and function from the quotations that occur individually since, as I intend to show, Paul uses such pairs to render the proof of the psalms more effective. In addition to the combination of two psalms, Paul also uses quotations from Pentateuchal and prophetic books as well as Wisdom texts in such pairs. The use of psalms alongside the Pentateuchal and prophetic books as source material to interpret divine messages increased during the late Second Temple period, which is particularly evident in the texts found at Qumran.⁵²⁶ Correspondingly, Paul also refers to certain psalms to build the authority of his arguments.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁴ Adams and Ehorn 2017, 4.

⁵²⁵ Adams and Ehorn 2017, 4.

⁵²⁶ On the changing function of psalms and increasing use of psalms as prophecy in the Second Temple period, see, e.g., Høgehaven 2017; Pajunen 2019.

⁵²⁷ On the correlation between the authorial and referential status of a text, see, e.g., Brooke 2012, 11: "[...] in representing what they depend on they confer authority on their hypotexts, the texts that lie underneath them [...]." Furthermore, whether the tripartite division—Torah, Prophets, Writings—of

5.1. Psalms 115:2 (MT 116:11) and 50(51):6 in Romans 3:4

In this section, I will first deal with Paul's use of Psalms 115:2 (MT 116:11) and 50(51):6 in Romans 3:4, texts which serve as evidence for his argument about God's sovereignty. In this passage, Paul attempts to explain how God's salvation applies to Jews and gentiles alike: how is Paul able to explain from scripture that, while God first made the covenant available to Israel, gentiles have now been included without the requirement of fulfilling the Law? I argue that, by using the language of lamentation from Psalm 115(116) as well as that of repentance and atonement from Psalm 50(51), Paul aims to prove with scriptural authority that the inclusion of the gentiles into the covenant does not contradict God's promises to Israel.

5.1.1. *The Context and Analysis of the Quotation Pair*

In Romans 1–2, Paul appears to blur the distinction between Jews and gentiles, claiming that some Jews cannot fulfill the Law (2:17–24), while some gentiles might occasionally do so (2:14–15, 26), thus turning upside down what would become the common assumption on the Jewish Law and one's ability fulfill it. Paul's aim is to show that both ethnic groups are equally capable and incapable of fulfilling the requirements of the Law. Thus, in chapter 3, Paul argues from scripture that sin is universal to all human beings (v. 9: "both Jews and gentiles are under the sin"). In verse 1, he asks "What advantages do Jews have or what is the value of circumcision?" (Τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς;). Paul himself responds to this question, stating, "Much in every way!"⁵²⁸ (πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον), saying that the words of God (v. 2: τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ) were first entrusted to the Jews. In verse 3, Paul poses a further question: "How so? If some have not believed, does their disbelief destroy God's faithfulness?" This question is answered with the strong diatribic denial "By no means!" (v. 4a: μὴ γένοιτο), followed by an explicatory exclamation: "Let God be true, though every person is a liar!" (v. 4b–c: γινέσθω δὲ ὁ

scripture already existed at the time when Paul wrote his letters remains disputed. See the discussion in sec. 3.1.1. in this study.

⁵²⁸ Fitzmyer 1992, 326.

θεὸς ἀληθής,⁵²⁹ πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης).

The latter part (v. 4c: πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης) of this exclamation is an implicit quotation of LXX Psalm 115:2 (MT 116:11).⁵³⁰ The arrangement of Psalm 116 (MT) differs from that of the LXX version, as verse 10 introduces a new psalm in the Greek translation (LXX 115:1).⁵³¹ Most commentators thus consider the LXX version to be secondary.⁵³² Likewise, evaluating whether Paul knew the psalm in its MT or LXX form on the basis of his quotations remains difficult.⁵³³ On the one hand, if Paul knew the psalm in its MT form, the theological emphasis of the psalm would suit the context of Romans well. For instance, in MT Ps 116:5, the psalmist expresses that God is just and merciful (ἐλεήμων ὁ κύριος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐλεᾷ), an emphasis that does not occur in LXX Ps 115 (but does instead in LXX Ps 114:5). Thus, Paul's generalization that "every human being is a liar" encapsulates the theme of the psalm in its MT form rather than in its LXX form. On the other hand, the composition of LXX Ps 115 would also suit Paul well, as the vocabulary used at the outset of the

⁵²⁹ Fitzmyer (1992, 328) notes that this word and its cognates are often used in the LXX to refer to God's covenantal fidelity (e.g., Ps 89:2, 6, 9, 15, 25, 34).

⁵³⁰ No consensus among scholars exists over whether this wording should be understood as a subtle unconscious reference, an implied allusion or an implicit quotation. Hays (1989, 204 n. 33) classifies this as an echo.

⁵³¹ Jerome, like other early Christian writers, divides the psalm according to the LXX: from verse 10 onwards, the new psalm begins. According to Janowski (2003, 91–136), the psalm can be attributed to the temple cult and more specifically to the *todah* celebration, which represented an offering of thanks to the nation. (Cited in Brueggemann and Bellinger [2014, 501–502]). Hossfeld and Zenger (2011, 215) treat the psalm as a "thanksgiving song drawing on the ritual of a thanksgiving sacrifice." Allen (1983, 114), on the other hand, concludes, on the basis of vv. 14, 18, 19, that the psalm was "[. . .] evidently composed for recitation at a service offering thanks in the temple courts during one of the great festivals [. . .]." Brueggemann and Bellinger (2014, 501–502) further note that, as a Hallel psalm used during Passover, the elements of deliverance (from Egyptian bondage in the Jewish context) became appropriate for New Testament writers. The cup of salvation (Ps 116:13) thereby "came to be associated with the Eucharist in the Christian tradition."

⁵³² See, e.g., Hossfeld and Zenger 2008, 300–301; Briggs 1907, 398. There are a few fragments of the psalm found among the Qumran documents: 4QPs^b (Col. XXXIII frg. 28 i) contains preserved Ps 116:17–19. Reconstructed column XXXII is estimated to have preserved Psalm 116:3c–11a, and it implies that column XXXIII "probably contained 18 lines, beginning with Ps 116:11b and ending with Ps 116:19b" (DJD 16, 44). However, this fragment unfortunately does not solve the problem of the arrangement of the psalm, since the beginning (either in its MT or LXX form) of the MS is not preserved.

⁵³³ Paul refers to this psalm twice: in Rom 3:4 he refers to Ps 116:11b (LXX 115:2b), and in 2 Cor 4:13 he refers to Ps 116:10a (LXX 115:1a).

psalm—which Paul quotes in 2 Cor 4:13—with the verb πιστεύω, happens likewise to be characteristic of Paul. Furthermore, this word-group does not occur frequently in the psalms. However, according to the (MT) psalmist, human beings remain unreliable, and their lives are full of danger and anguish (v. 3), while God is trustworthy and will redeem the speaker (vv. 5–9). If Paul knew the psalm in its MT form, the surrounding context of the psalm (vv. 1–9), which contains elements of lamentation and thanksgiving as well as the themes of God’s sovereignty, indeed supports Paul’s argumentation.⁵³⁴ In Psalm 116:5 (MT), the confession of God’s mercy is reformulated from Exodus 34:6, a theological motif central to Paul’s thinking.⁵³⁵ It is nevertheless noteworthy that, in several instances regarding both the explicit quotations and subtle references, Paul refers to texts in a way that the texts are lifted out of their literary context when used to support his argument rather than bringing the larger context of his source text to bear on his own composition.⁵³⁶

Finally, Paul quotes explicitly from LXX Psalm 50(51):6, marking it with the quotation formula “as it is written”:

| Romans 3:4d–f | LXX Psalm 50(51):6: |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| [. . .] καθὼς γέγραπται· <u>ὅπως ἂν</u> | σοὶ μόνῳ ἥμαρτον |
| <u>δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ</u> | καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα |
| <u>νικήσεις</u> ⁵³⁷ <u>ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε</u> | |

⁵³⁴ Hossfeld and Zenger (2008, 294) consider v. 10 a summary of vv. 1–9 and a lead into the entire psalm.

⁵³⁵ Hossfeld and Zenger 2008, 300; cf. also to Ps 111:4; 112:4.

⁵³⁶ Cf. Kujanpää 2019, 33 n. 7, who argues that Paul does not here evoke the context of the psalm, but instead he borrows the language of it.

⁵³⁷ NA²⁸ attests the verb in the future indicative form and following manuscripts ⲛ Ⲁ ⲉ ⲕ ⲛ 81. 2464 pm (*incert.* 33. 1506). The verb form is inflected as an aorist subjunctive in B G L Ψ 365. 1175. 1505. 1739. 1881 pm. Stanley (1992, 87) states that the future indicative suits the Pauline context better than the aorist subjunctive, as it emphasizes “the absolute certainty of God’s victory over those who would seek to question his ways.” He weighs the possibility that the future indicative reading would originate from a LXX *Vorlage* that Paul might have used—if he used a specific text—such that the Pauline reading would attest an older form than is preserved in the LXX manuscripts. Even so, Stanley argues that the aorist subjunctive fits the psalmic context better. Similarly, Fitzmyer (1992, 328) argues that the aorist subjunctive (νικήσης) reading in some NT witnesses harmonizes Paul’s modification (indicative future) according to the preceding verb (δικαιωθῇς) in LXX Ps 50:6. See also Kujanpää 2019, 33, for a discussion of textual variance.

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| | <u>ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου</u> ⁵³⁸ |
| | <u>καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε</u> ⁵³⁹ |
| [. . .] just as it is written: “ <u>so that you</u> | Against you alone did I sin, and what is |
| <u>may be justified in your words and</u> | evil before you I did, <u>so that you may be</u> |
| <u>will be victorious when you go to</u> | <u>justified in your words and may be</u> |
| <u>court</u> ” ⁵⁴⁰ | <u>victorious when you go to court</u> |

Table 5.1: Comparison of the texts in Rom 3:4

Even if Paul does not quote verse 6 in its entirety, he does emphatically scrutinize the fundamental difference between human beings and God presented in the psalmic verse. Thus, by quoting only a part of the verse, Paul can be read as evoking the larger context of the psalm.⁵⁴¹ Paul leaves out the confessional formula for sins: “Against you alone did I sin, and what is evil before you I did,” and skips directly to the final clause (ὅπως ἂν + subj.): “so that you may be victorious when you go to court.” It seems to me that Paul expects his reader to recognize this quotation and, therefore, to supply the confession of human sinfulness (“Against you alone did I sin, and what is evil before you I did”) before the cited line.⁵⁴² In this way only can they agree with Paul that God’s righteousness is at stake here: it is *God* who is justified and victorious in law. Not knowing the origin of the quotation would likely lead to confusion since

⁵³⁸ Several Hebrew manuscripts, LXX, Symmachus, Vulgate, and Rom 3:4 read or seem to translate the form בְּדִבְרֶיךָ, “in your words.” In MT, the form is qal infinitive with the second-person singular masculine suffix (בְּדִבְרֶיךָ). Tate (1990, 6) notes that the reading in the LXX (and other witnesses) could represent the original based on it being *lectio difficilior*, violating parallelism with the phrase: “blameless in giving judgment.” According to Tate, however, a similar ambivalence exists concerning this word: some Hebrew manuscripts read “in your judgments,” while the LXX changes the verb to the passive or middle voice, but the meaning of the verb is the same: “in judging.”

⁵³⁹ MS 2013 gives the variant με.

⁵⁴⁰ I have modified the NET translation to show explicitly the changes in tense in Greek as well as in word choice in the latter part of the verse.

⁵⁴¹ Cf. Kujanpää (2019, 36) who argues that, even if Paul quotes a psalm that comprises a confession of sins, the context “is not in any way evoked by Paul” (36).

⁵⁴² Cf. Stanley (1992, 87) who claims that “Paul eliminates entirely the self-abasement theme that figured so prominently in the original” textual context. Paul twists a humble acknowledgement that God is also just in judging sin, asserting that, even if someone should seek to challenge him, God will be vindicated. According to Tobin 2004, 119, Paul points out, by quoting this psalm, that God is proven to be just (δικαιόω) even when judging sinners.

the change to the second person singular occurs without explanation and returns to Paul's (imagined) interlocutor in verse 5.⁵⁴³ Paul truncates the quotation for stylistic reasons since the confessional exclamation of the psalm would distract from his discussion.⁵⁴⁴ He then continues his diatribe with the reader. In sum, his denial in verse 4 requires scriptural justification, which he accomplishes by conflating LXX Psalms 115:2 (MT 116:11) with 50(51):6.

Psalm 51(50) is perhaps the best known of the so-called traditional seven penitential psalms (Pss 6; 32; 38; 51; 102; 130; 143).⁵⁴⁵ The superscript of Psalm 51(50) hints at its purpose as a penitential psalm by associating it with David's contrition over his adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of Uriah, for which he was confronted by the prophet Nathan (cf. 2 Sam 11–12).⁵⁴⁶ The superscript originates from the Hellenistic period, from a time when historical explanations were sometimes added to certain psalms, and the number of penitential prayers in circulation was increasing.⁵⁴⁷ Furthermore, confessional language is used in verse 6. According to

⁵⁴³ Kujanpää (2019, 34–35) illuminates the different nuances of the Septuagint and the Masoretic text of this verse: “As the Greek faithfully translates the Hebrew, the final clause gives the impression that the psalmist's sin is somehow a foundation for God being justified. Moreover, in the Masoretic text God is pronouncing the judgement (פִּשְׁפֹּשׁ), not one party in a trial himself (ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαι σε).” See also Kujanpää's discussion (2019, 34–35 n. 12) of the ambiguity of the Hebrew consonantal text, which results in different interpretations of the Greek verb when vocalized differently.

⁵⁴⁴ According to Stowers 1984, 707–722, the denial in verse 3 should be understood as Paul's voice, whereas verse 4 represents the interlocutor's phrasing. Stowers views vv. 1–9 as following a sharply planned rhetorical structure and not a digression, contrary to many other commentators.

⁵⁴⁵ Tate 1990, 8, adds that the “full confession of sin (in Ps 51:3–7) is without parallel in any other biblical psalm (though such a confession in the past is recalled in Ps 32:5; also note Pss 38:19; 41:5; 69:6; 130:1–8).” Nevertheless, recent studies have criticized the assertion that all of these psalms can be classified as penitential prayer. For different ways of defining and classifying penitential prayers, see Werline 1998. For further discussion of penitential prayer, see sub-sec. 4.4 in the present study.

⁵⁴⁶ The psalm composition consists of different parts dated in the following manner: vv. 19–20 are thought to postdate the erection of the Second Temple (520–515 BCE), since the building of the wall in Jerusalem and the sacrificial practice is presupposed in these verses. This addition is thus attributed to a later liturgical context with an eschatological emphasis. The critical view of the temple cult in vv. 18–19 that creates tension with the sacrificial theology in v. 21 added later is particularly noteworthy. The older part of the psalm dates to the exilic or post-exilic period. (Hossfeld and Zenger 2000, 45, 48.)

⁵⁴⁷ Pajunen 2019, 168–169, 172–173. Ps 50(51) features a superscript both in its Masoretic and Septuagint forms. Still, since some psalms (LXX Pss 24; 48; 81; and 94) add the superscript, some scholars suggest that the liturgical use of the psalms increased during the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, Hossfeld and Zenger (2005, 16) note that Ps 50(51):20–21, a petition for rebuilding Jerusalem, indicate a secondary liturgical gloss, though they are cautious in dating this addition (18).

Brueggemann and Bellinger, in Ps 50(51):6–7, “the psalmist begins to think beyond guilt and alienation,”⁵⁴⁸ expressing the hope that God will reveal his veiled wisdom to the psalmist. They conclude that the psalm may be described as “a drama of rehabilitation.”⁵⁴⁹ Thus, not only the theme of God’s sovereignty but the aspects of God’s forgiveness of sin and trustworthiness expressed in the psalm also appear to support Paul’s line of thought in this passage. In v. 3, before the quotation, he first introduces a hypophora asking whether the distrust by some has abolished the faithfulness (πίστις) of God, to which he replies “by no means!” (v. 4a: *μὴ γένοιτο*). By quoting from Ps 50(51):6, Paul emphasizes the absurdity of the former claim. Paul poses another hypophora in v. 5, asking whether “our wickedness establishes (συνίστησιν) God’s righteousness?” Paul denies this as well with the same reply: “by no means!” (v. 6a: *μὴ γένοιτο*). In sum, Paul contrasts the distrust and wickedness of humankind with God’s faithfulness and righteousness, as expressed in the psalm. Thus, I conclude that Paul’s use of Psalm 50(51) indicates that the psalm was well known and, therefore, its connection to themes dealing with sin and redemption would have been evident to Paul’s audience.

5.1.2. *Conclusions on Romans 3:4*

In the context of Romans 3, it is central to Paul that he convinces his audience that all humans sin and lack God’s righteousness. Paul did not invent this theology; but rather he borrowed it from laments (Ps 115[116]) and penitential (Ps 50[51]) psalms to support his point of view. These two psalms are linked together in Romans 3:4, though only the latter is introduced with a quotation formula. With the implicit quotation from Ps 115 (LXX), Paul attempts to show that God is the sovereign judge, whereas the quotation from Ps 50 (LXX) functions for Paul as a proclamation that the gospel does not contradict God’s faithfulness to Jews. In addition, I argue that Psalm 51(50) must have been well-known among believers in Christ with a gentile background.⁵⁵⁰ This

⁵⁴⁸ Brueggemann and Bellinger 2014, 236.

⁵⁴⁹ Brueggemann and Bellinger 2014, 238.

⁵⁵⁰ Kujanpää (2019, 36 n. 18) arrives at a different conclusion by stating that “[t]he question is not about how well-known the psalm was or whether his audience would have recognized the words.” She (36 n. 18) continues arguing that “[...] there is simply nothing in the context of Romans [...] that]

stems from the observation that Paul seems to assume that his audience would recognize the context of the psalm text—in particular, its confessional formula for sins: “Against you alone did I sin, and what is evil before you I did.” Paul quotes only the latter part of this verse, emphasizing the essential difference between humans and God as his central pursuit.

Psalms 50(51) and 115(116) share the theme of contrasting God’s faithfulness with the moral weakness of humankind, emphasizing the anticipation of God’s forgiveness. Furthermore, the themes of sacrifice (Ps 50[51]:18–19, 21; LXX Ps 115:8, MT Ps 116:17) and Jerusalem (Ps 50[51]:20; LXX Ps 115:10; MT Ps 116:19) are common to both psalms. One particular theme of the thanksgiving sacrifice of the psalm, the cup of salvation (v. 4: *ποτήριον σωτηρίου*), came to be associated with Eucharist in later Christian tradition.⁵⁵¹ As for genre, MT Ps 116 has been described variously as a lament, a petition, an expression of trust, and a thanksgiving.⁵⁵² The change from lament to forgiveness and to thanksgiving seems to be evoked in Paul’s implicit quotation from LXX Ps 115:2 (*πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης*) in verse 4: “Let God be true, though every person is a liar!” This sentiment is similar to the “drama of rehabilitation”⁵⁵³ expressed in Ps 50(51), where David is portrayed as a sinner and penitent psalmist,⁵⁵⁴ a characterization equally present also in Ps 115(116). While the superscript of Ps 50(51) mentions David’s sin of committing adultery with Bathsheba, which leads him to arrange the death of her husband Uriah (1 Sam 16–1 Kings 2), his disfavor in Saul’s eyes which leads him to exile, and the death of Saul, changes David’s fortune: he is anointed king (2 Sam 2:4). David’s picture becomes idealized in Chronicles where he is described as a virtuous man, and where his adulterous affair with Bathsheba is even omitted entirely.⁵⁵⁵ The two psalms (50[51], 115[116]) thus

suggest[s] that Paul intended the words to be read in the context of a confession of sins. Paul himself provides a framework in which the words are meaningful.”

⁵⁵¹ Brueggemann and Bellinger 2014, 502. The psalm has been of interest to other New Testament writers as well. Matthew (11:25–26) has used Ps 116:6 (MT) for his Christological argumentation. It is also alluded to in Acts 2:24 where Peter uses the metaphor of “chains of death” (Ps 116:3 [MT]). Paul quotes the psalm again in 2 Corinthians 4:11—a passage that I deal with briefly below in sub-sec. 5.5.4.

⁵⁵² See, e.g., Hossfeld and Zenger 2011, 214.

⁵⁵³ Brueggemann and Bellinger 2014, 238.

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. also CD V, 5–6, which considers the murder of Uriah David’s only sin, which God forgives; Josephus, on the other hand, considers adultery with Bathsheba his only sin.

⁵⁵⁵ Pajunen 2017b, 575–576.

form a thematically coherent pair by recognizing the sins and redemption of David. Recognition of the original literary context of these psalms would therefore strengthen Paul's argument of God's trustworthiness versus human instability.

5.2. Ps 8:7 and 110(109):1 in 1 Corinthians 15:25, 27

5.2.1. Context of the Quotation Pair

In chapter 15 of the first letter to the Corinthians, Paul deals with the divine aspect of Christ. The entire chapter is somewhat unique in the letter since elsewhere, when Paul introduces a new topic—either a question raised by the Corinthians or a problem within the Corinthian congregation—he states the reason for doing so emphatically (cf. 1:11; 5:1; 7:1; 8:1, etc.).⁵⁵⁶ In contrast, in chapter 15, Paul does not explicate why he changes to the topic of resurrection until verse 12, expressing his observation that some among the recipients of his letter have said that there will be no resurrection. Paul tackles this claim by assessing its consequences and presuppositions, starting from the resurrection of Christ to emphasize its centrality to his teaching.⁵⁵⁷ In verse 3, Paul announces that Christ died “for the sake of our sins according to scriptures” (Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς).⁵⁵⁸ Regardless of the explicit quotation formula “according to scriptures,” Paul does not quote scripture here directly in seeking to prove in which part of scripture the event of Christ's death “for the sake of our sins” had been predicted. Previous research suggests that Paul was

⁵⁵⁶ It has also been expressed both in previous research and in the history of theology that this chapter constitutes the climax of the letter. For a detailed survey of research history and different solutions to why Paul had refrained from the topic of resurrection until chapter 15, see Thiselton 2000, 1169–1182.

⁵⁵⁷ Barrett (1968) 1971, 335.

⁵⁵⁸ Barrett ([1968] 1971, 340) speculates on which part of the statement in 1 Cor 15:4 the claim “according to scriptures” refers to: “was buried,” “was raised,” “on the third day,” or “for our sins.” The Greek text suggests that the fulfillment statement should be connected to the statement “on the third day,” though other solutions are also possible. Thiselton (2000, 1196) lists the different views among more recent scholarship. Barrett ([1968] 1971, 340) further mentions that early Christian writers (without specifying who) have suggested for reference of “on the third day” such texts as Ps 16:10 and Isa 59:9, concluding that “[i]t is probably best here too to suppose that the resurrection experience and faith came first; the conviction that the resurrection must have been foretold; then the documentation.”

implicitly referring to Isa (LXX) 53:5 and the suffering servant.⁵⁵⁹ The expression *ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον* (“that which I have also received”), which occurs in the previous verse (1 Cor 15:3), implies that Paul is referring to something he has received or that has been handed on to him. Some suggest that this is an orally transmitted early Christian formula that Paul had adopted.⁵⁶⁰ Barrett states that the source of the teaching is not explicated in chapter 15 since it is the content of the teaching that is important, unlike in 1 Cor 11:23 where Paul uses the same expression to underline that he has received the message from the Lord, from an authoritative origin.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁹ Thus Fee 1987, 724, though he continues that, “according to scripture” in verse 3 probably does not refer to a single passage “[...] but to a larger reality of the OT [...]” (725). Barrett ([1968] 1971, 339) is doubtful of this interpretation, since Paul does not refer to Isa 53 elsewhere. Aejmelaeus (2005, 479) argues that “concerning the statement of the death of Christ, there is hardly any other text than Isaiah 53 that could come into question as a point of reference.” Furthermore, she views the resurrection on the third day as possibly referring either to Hos 6:2 or Jonah 1:17 (2:1). Aejmelaeus (479) concludes that the temporal detail seems to be a minor part of the statement, and, in contrast, Isa 53 has a more significant function for interpreting Paul’s reference to the event of resurrection: “[...] Jesus’ death is given a theological – more exactly expiatory – meaning [...] and this is said to be in accordance with the scriptures.”

⁵⁶⁰ For a survey of research history, see Thiselton (2000, 1186–1197). Thiselton (1191) understands the plural form of “sins” to indicate that Paul relies here on earlier tradition, since Paul seldom uses the plural form of the word. Inter alia, it has been discussed whether the original language of this earlier tradition would be Aramaic or Greek. For references to earlier research of the suggested pre-Pauline tradition behind v. 3, see Fee 1987, 722–723. Fitzmyer (2008, 541) states that “[t]he pre-Pauline proclamation is evident in its stereotyped formulation: four clauses, each introduced by *hoti*, ‘that.’ It announces the death of Christ for our sins, his burial, his resurrection, and his appearance to Cephas.” Similarly, Jeremias (1935, 72–73) makes the following argument about the passage that seems to hint at a pre-Pauline background: the use of 1) “sins” in plural and with a possessive attribute (“for our sins”), 2) “according to scriptures” (*κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*), which occurs only here among Paul’s letters, and 3) “the Twelve” (*οἱ δώδεκα*). Jeremias further argues that the adopted kerygma must be of Aramaic origin based on the use of the verbs “appeared” and “was raised,” the latter having been translated from Aramaic *ܐܬܬܝܬܐ* and carrying a double meaning—“to be seen [er wurde gesehen]; to appear [er erschien].” Fitzmyer (546) further understands this formulation to represent a “primitive Christian kerygma,” one that occurs in a slightly different form in 1 Pet 3:18 (*ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἡπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν*). This (as well as 2 Cor 5:14–15; Rom 3:25–26; 4:25, and Joh 1:29) is considered a pre-Pauline formulation also by Räisänen (2010, 168). For other instances of formulae expressing that Christ died or was delivered “for (our) sins/transgresses/impious ones,” etc., see Rom 4:25; 5:6; 2 Cor 5:21; 1 John 4:10. For instances where the death of Christ is mentioned without a reference to sin, see, e.g., 2 Cor 5:15; 1 Thess 4:14; 5:10. The formulation, as it appears in 1 Cor 15:4, occurs also in Gal 1:4 (*τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν [...]*). See also the excursus on the suggested pre-Pauline formula in Thiselton 2000, 1197–1203.

⁵⁶¹ Barrett (1968) 1971, 337.

For the purpose of this study, the justification from scripture for the Christ event is of interest—namely Paul’s explication “according to scriptures.” There are only a few cases (cf., e.g., Rom 8:36, 9:33) in Paul’s genuine letters where Paul uses this kind of scriptural fulfilment formula to argue about events in Jesus’s life.⁵⁶² More often, quotation formulae for and argumentation from scripture are situated in passages where Paul develops his own theological view against his opponents.⁵⁶³ Particularly in 1 Corinthians, Paul’s own argumentation is opposed to those of rival teachers—explicated in, e.g., 1 Cor 1:11–12. Verses 4–8, on the other hand, comprise a formulaic depiction of the appearance of Christ after his death. It is noteworthy that, in verse 8, Paul emphasizes that Christ appeared finally to Paul himself as well, and he describes himself as “the one untimely born” (ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων ὥσπερ εἰ τῷ ἐκτρώματι ὥφθη καὶ μοί. v.8), perhaps referring to his own past as a persecutor of the followers of Jesus and to his later conversion. With this statement, Paul defends his apostolic authority, which seems to have been attacked by the Corinthian opponents. They might have applied the criteria later attested in Acts 1:21–22, that an apostle must be an eyewitness of (the earthly) Jesus. According to Paul’s understanding, however, his apostleship is similarly accurate, as he had witnessed Christ through revelation.⁵⁶⁴

In verse 12, Paul repeats the question apparently posed by his recipients, the Corinthians: “Now if Christ is proclaimed as raised from the dead, how can some of you say there is no resurrection of the dead?” (1 Cor 15:12 NRSV). In verses 13–17, Paul tries to reason that, if there will be no resurrection, Christ must also not have been resurrected—therefore, the proclamations of Paul and his associates would have been in vain, and their testimonies would have misrepresented God (εὐρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ [...], 1 Cor 15:15) since they have claimed that God had raised Christ. In verses 18–19, Paul then argues from the perspective of the deceased: if there will be no resurrection, those who have died “in Christ” (οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ, v.

⁵⁶² For justification from scriptures as fulfilment proof in the other NT instances, see, e.g., Matt 1:22–23; 2:15, 17–18, 23; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13: 35; 21: 4–5; 27:9–10; Mark 14:49; Luke 24:27, 46; John 19:24, 36.

⁵⁶³ Cf. Kujanpää (2019, 332), who argues that there are quotations (Rom 2:24; 4:17; 10:11, 13) that aim to prove the validity of *Paul’s* statement. In addition, Kujanpää (333) further states that Paul uses quotation (in Rom 9:25–26; 27–28; 29; 33; 11:8, 9–10; 26–27; 15:9, 10, 11, 12) to prove that the present or future situation that he proclaims constitutes a fulfilment of prophetic promises.

⁵⁶⁴ Fitzmyer 2008, 542–543.

18) have simply perished. Paul trusts that these arguments will sway his recipients since he continues accordingly in verse 20: *Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν [...]* (“But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead [...],” 1 Cor 15:20 NRSV). Paul then draws an analogy between Adam and Christ, claiming that, since death came into the world through man, so the resurrection of the dead will take place through man (*ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι’ ἀνθρώπου θάνατος, καὶ δι’ ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*, v. 21)—the first man being Adam and the second man Christ. In verse 24, Paul outlines the theme of the following quotations: “Then comes the end, when he hands over (*παραδιδῶ*) the kingdom to God the Father, after he has destroyed every ruler and every authority and power (*ὅταν καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν*)” (V. 24 NRSV).⁵⁶⁵ That is, the power of this world will be destroyed in order that Christ might be given power. Thiselton concludes that “Paul’s main point here is that the last enemy, death, cannot remain, for then all things would *not* have been placed in submission under his (Christ’s) feet.”⁵⁶⁶ This last notion is expressed in verse 25 by quoting Ps 109(110):1, to which I will turn next.

5.2.2. Analysis of Psalm 109(110):1 in 1 Corinthians 15:25

In 1 Corinthians 15:25, Paul uses wording from Ps 109(110):1. In this instance, he does not use a quotation formula or mark the quotation in any other way, except for the framing with *δεῖ* + infinitive construction, accompanied by the explicatory particle *γάρ*. These elements together with the close resemblance of Paul’s wording to that of Ps 109(110) indicate that Paul has derived his formulation from the psalmic text; thus, the text can be understood as an implicit quotation.⁵⁶⁷ However, Paul’s wording deviates somewhat from the wording of the psalm, as is shown in the table below:

⁵⁶⁵ According to Koch (1986, 244 n. 21), v. 24b may be a pre-Pauline formulation.

⁵⁶⁶ Thiselton 2000, 1236 (emphasis his).

⁵⁶⁷ For a discussion on the definition of a quotation, see the introduction of this study. Stanley (1992, 206) excludes this case from his investigation due to his strict criteria for determining a quotation. It is a matter of terminology how this connection to the psalms should be labelled. Thiselton (2000, 1234) argues explicitly that this is an allusion, not a quotation, whereas Fee (1987, 754–758) is somewhat inconsistent, first arguing that it is an allusion (756, n. 50) then mentioning in passing that it is a citation (758), perhaps since Fee considers the latter to be an umbrella term. Cf. Hays 1989, 84; Stanley 1992, 206, n. 85.

1 Cor 15:25

δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεῦειν ἄχρι οὗ θῆ
πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς⁵⁶⁸ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας
αὐτοῦ.

For he must reign **until he has**
subjected all his enemies under his
feet.

(NRSV, modified)

Ps 109:1: LXX

τῷ Δαυιδ ψαλμός εἶπεν ὁ⁵⁶⁹ κύριος τῷ
κυρίῳ μου κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν
θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν
ποδῶν σου

Pertaining to David. A Psalm
The Lord said to my lord, “Sit on my
right **until I subject your enemies a**
footstool for your feet.”

(NETS, modified)

Table 5.2 Comparison of the texts of 1 Cor 15 to Psalm 109(110)

In the following sub-section, I explore each of the deviations shown above, evaluating whether they might derive from Paul’s deliberate modification or from his use of a different *Vorlage*.⁵⁷⁰ The differences between the Pauline text and the LXX Psalm concern Paul’s preference for the prepositional expression ἄχρι οὗ over the conjunction ἕως ἂν, the grammatical form of the finite verb (subjunctive in the psalm due to the conjunction), the addition of the adjective πάντες, the omission of the possessive pronoun σου after the noun ἐχθροί (“enemies”), the change of the noun ὑποπόδιον (“footstool”) to the prepositional expression ὑπὸ + τοὺς πόδας (“under the feet”), and the change of the first-person singular possessive pronoun σου to the third-person singular pronoun αὐτοῦ.

The construction ἄχρι + relative pronoun οὗ (1 Cor 15:25) occurs only three times in the LXX (2 Macc 14:10, 15; Job 32:11), but never in the psalms. Furthermore, the exact same form of the combination with οὗ that Paul uses occurs only in Job. The construction ἕως ἂν, on the other hand, which Paul does not use here, is very common

⁵⁶⁸ There are significant textual variants here, since many witnesses (A F G 33. 104. 629 Aramaic, marginal notes of the Vulgate, Peshitta, Marcion [according to Tertullian], and Epiphanius of Constantia) attest to the reading “his enemies,” with the pronoun αὐτοῦ (in Greek witnesses).

⁵⁶⁹ The article is omitted in R (Codex Veronensis), a 6th-century fragment containing a bilingual Latin-Greek Psalter.

⁵⁷⁰ Rahlfs does not list any textual variation for the wording of the quoted part of the psalm. Furthermore, P.Bodm. XXIV (2110), which contains LXX Ps 109, does not witness any variants for this verse (Kasser and Testuz 1967, 221), except for the omission of the modal particle ἂν before the verb.

in the LXX, occurring 103 times (including the apocryphal books). Besides this instance, Paul uses the expression ἄχρη οὖ twice (Rom 11:25 and 1 Cor 11:26). In addition, he uses the word ἄχρη 13 times altogether.

The form of the verb τίθημι also deviates from the corresponding passage in the psalm. Paul uses the third person singular aorist subjunctive, whereas the first person singular is used in the psalm. In Paul, the subject of the verb is expressed with the infinitive construction δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν, referring, it seems, to Christ.⁵⁷¹ The direct object of the verb is “all [his] enemies” according to Paul or “your enemies” according to the psalmist.⁵⁷² The addition of πάντες further emphasizes that all enemies have been cast before Christ’s feet. Paul also explicates in verse 26 that “the ultimate enemy to be destroyed is death” (v. 26: ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος).⁵⁷³ It seems plausible that Paul is responsible for all these changes in the wording, since they all support Paul’s emphasis of the role of Christ as the one who reigns over death.

5.2.3. Analysis of Psalm 8 in 1 Corinthians 15:27

Similar phraseology to verse 25 occurs in verse 27, which contains an even closer parallel to the wording of Ps 8:7.⁵⁷⁴ Here, Paul substitutes the rare word ὑποπόδιον

⁵⁷¹ Paul does not explicitly identify the antecedent of the pronoun. Grammatically it is possible that it refers either to God (as in the psalm) or to Christ (the subject explicitly expressed in the preceding verse). For a discussion, see Fee 1987, 755. Similarly ambivalent is the subject of ὑπέταξεν in v. 27. For a discussion, see Luz 1968, 340, n. 86.

⁵⁷² See note 568 above, which lists the witnesses that attest the reading “his enemies.”

⁵⁷³ Similarly, Barrett (1968) 1971, 358; Fee 1987, 756–757; Sampley 2015, 845: “At the end, Christ will give the kingdom, the reign, to God, but only after Christ has laid waste all rule and authority and enemy including that “last enemy” (θάνατος), death, which God has placed under Christ’s feet (a reference to Ps 110:1). Until that time there is no resurrection of the dead and the final defeat of death.” Hengel (1991, 165) notes that “[a]s long as humans sin and die, death reigns, a power which for Paul [...] is possibly identical with Satan. He as the last enemy will first have to be destroyed.”

⁵⁷⁴ According to Hengel (1991, 165), Paul fuses the two psalms together already in v. 25 and now “[a]s a concluding emphasis he [...] quotes this verse [Ps 8:7] in v. 27.” According to Thiselton (2000, 1235) this is a quotation, or at least Thiselton describes Paul as “quoting” from Ps 8:6. Barrett ([1968] 1971, 358–359) notes that Paul employs the *gēzērāh šāwāh* technique to combine two different scriptural texts, Ps 109(110) and Ps 8, supporting the interpretation of the former with the help of the latter. In sub-secs. 1.3.3 (pp. 41–42) and 4.3 of the present study, I have discussed a similar phenomenon

(“footstool,” occurring only twice in the LXX: Ps 8:7 and Isa 66:1) for *ὑπό* + *πόδες* and changes the personal pronoun from second-person singular to third-person singular (“under his feet”). Verse 27 can, likewise, be identified as an implicit quotation, using the criteria of the inserted conjunction *γάρ* as well as Paul’s explication in the same verse “when it says (*ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ*)”—namely, scripture:⁵⁷⁵

1 Cor 15:27

πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ ὅτι πάντα ὑποτέτακται, δῆλον ὅτι⁵⁷⁶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

For “**he**⁵⁷⁷ **has** subjected all things under his feet.” But when it says, “All things are put in subjection,” it is plain that this does not include the one who put all things in subjection under him. (NRSV)

Ps 8:7

καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ

And you put him over the works of your hands; **you** subjected all below his feet.

(NETS, modified)

Table 5.3. Comparison of 1 Cor 15 to Ps 8

Paul slightly modifies the wording of the psalm. First, he omits the first line of the psalm (“And you set him over the works of your hands,” NRSV). Next, he inserts the conjunction *γάρ* to the quotation and changes the verb from second person singular to

in late Second Temple literature of combining two or more passages together by using certain catchwords. Although it is possible that this kind of method was employed in a looser manner in the late Second Temple period than was later established in rabbinic literature, it is misleading to label such a phenomenon as *gēzērāh šāwāh*.

⁵⁷⁵ Worth noting here is the interpretive word “it says,” by which Paul indicates that he is using an external text and now offers its interpretation. A similar formula is used in Qumran pesharim, on which see sub-sec. 3.2.1 of the present study.

⁵⁷⁶ The word *ὅτι* is omitted in some old witnesses (P⁴⁶ B 33.), in later minuscules (630. 1505), and in patristic sources (lat; Irenaeus^{lat} Ambrosiaster).

⁵⁷⁷ NRSV interprets the third person singular as referring to God, but since the subject is not explicated, I have rendered a more ambivalent translation. For a discussion, see Thiselton 2000, 1233–1234. Barrett ([1968]1971, 358) argues that, since God is the subject in the alluded psalm, he must be the implied subject in Paul.

third person singular.⁵⁷⁸ As in the previous quotation from Ps 109(110):1, Paul uses the plain prepositional expression ὑπὸ + τοὺς πόδας (“under the feet”) instead of the compound preposition ὑποκάτω + τῶν ποδῶν used in the psalm.⁵⁷⁹ Furthermore, when Paul provides his interpretation of the quotation in verse 27, he changes ὑποτάσσω (“to subject”) from aorist to perfect.

It appears that Paul tries to soften what he has declared earlier by quoting Ps 109(110):1: although Christ reigns until his enemies are subjected under his feet, “the one who put all things under subjection” is not himself subject to anyone—that is, Christ will not reign over God.⁵⁸⁰

Paul does not explicate the subject or the object in the quoted phrase: “[...] he will put all the enemies under his feet” (v. 25) or “he has put all things under his feet” (v. 27).⁵⁸¹ Zenger mentions that, also in MT Psalm 110:1, the subject is ambiguous: in 1a, the subject is the speaker (“the Lord [YHWH] says to my [immanent] lord [...]). Then follows a citation of what the Lord says: “Sit down at my right, while I lay down

⁵⁷⁸ Stanley (1992, 206) raises the question whether the change of person is derived from a possible pre-Pauline early Christian use of the Psalm, referring to Lindars 1961, 168–169, but Stanley does not give any answer.

⁵⁷⁹ Stanley (1992, 207) views this as a deliberate Pauline modification since ὑποκάτω does not occur anywhere in Paul’s letters. Similarly Koch 1986, 140, n. 1.

⁵⁸⁰ Paul’s declarative explanation after the quotation sparked vivid discussions over the meaning of the passage in the patristic era. The passage became popular during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries in controversies over Trinitarian theology, though Paul does not explicitly discuss the hierarchy of the Father and the Son, and, thus, it must be borne in mind that there is a danger to interpret the passage as claiming something that in fact belongs only to later reception history. For Origen, this passage served as proof of the temporality of the world, whereas for Chrysostom, it asserted that Christ would never cease to reign (as might be understood according to Phil 2:9). Perhaps most famously, Augustine used this passage to argue against Arian subordinationist Christology. For a survey of the debate over Paul’s assertions in relation to Trinitarian theology in the patristic era, see Thiselton 2000, 1238.

⁵⁸¹ Similar ambiguity concerns both implicit quotations. Concerning the quotation in v. 25, Fee (1987, 755–756) concludes that Paul must have intended Christ to be the subject of the phrase “he must reign.” Fee (756, n. 50) argues that “[...] since this is *not* a citation but an adaptation of the psalm to Paul’s own grammar, and a reader (or hearer) could not possibly have understood ‘God’ to be the subject until he or she came to v. 27c” (emphasis his). Similarly, Thiselton 2000, 1235–1236. Contra Barrett ([1968] 1971, 358), who argues that the subject here is God. According to Hengel (1991, 165), the subject of the action in v. 25 is God.

your enemies.”⁵⁸² In LXX Ps 109:1, the subject is the speaker in v. 1b, and God in v. 1cde.⁵⁸³ In Ps 8, in contrast, it is clear that God is the one who puts all things under the feet of humans. Since Psalm 8 carries themes of creation, according to Thiselton, the text serves in Paul’s context “as a commentary on the creation of humankind as an image of God as God’s vice-regent over the earth (Gen 1:26–30).”⁵⁸⁴ Humankind is set to rule (ἄρχω) over “the fish of the sea, over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth (πάσης τῆς γῆς), and over every (καί πάντων) creeping thing that creeps on the earth” (NAS).⁵⁸⁵ However, in contrast to the Genesis account, in LXX Ps 8, the angels are also mentioned in the hierarchy, humankind being “only a little lower” than them (v. 6).⁵⁸⁶ Although humankind is depicted in verse 6 as bearing close resemblance to divine beings, Ps 8 emphasizes the littleness of humankind in comparison to God,⁵⁸⁷ postlapsarian humans lacking the power they had been given during the creation. Christ, whom Paul styles as a new Adam, will then re-establish that power, even so that death will be defeated. Thus, both Pss 8 and 109(110) share the theme of submission: in Ps 109(110), the enemies will be subjected to “you,” the addressee of the psalm (v. 1), whereas in Ps 8 “all”—namely, sheep, cattle, “even the beast of the field”—are subjected to the feet of humankind (vv. 8–9).

5.2.4. *Psalm 109(110) elsewhere in the New Testament*

Besides the frequently quoted Psalm 22 (MT), Psalm 109(110) and particularly verse 1 was popular among New Testament writers. Verse 1 is quoted six times,⁵⁸⁸ making it the most often quoted verse in the NT. Other parts of the psalm are also referred to

⁵⁸² Hossfeld and Zenger 2011, 140–141. The LXX gives ἕως ἄν here, rendering the Hebrew conjunction עד according to its common meaning “until.” Zenger (2011, 140–141) proposes to render the Hebrew as “while.”

⁵⁸³ Hossfeld and Zenger 2011, 152.

⁵⁸⁴ Thiselton 2000, 1235. Brueggemann and Bellinger (2011, 59) note that addressing God as Elohim in Ps 8 indicates the connection particularly to Gen 1.

⁵⁸⁵ I am indebted to Mika S. Pajunen for pointing out the connection of the creation theme and thus of the Sabbath to the Pauline text. On the theme of creation in Ps 8, see Orpana 2016, 48.

⁵⁸⁶ Curiously, the Hebrew text of Ps 8:6 reads “a little lower than gods” (מִעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים) while the Greek text substitutes “gods” with “angels.” For similar changes in the psalms, see Pss 96(97):7; 137(138):1.

⁵⁸⁷ Orpana 2016, 47.

⁵⁸⁸ Besides 1 Cor 15:25; Matt 22:44; Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42; Acts 2:34; Heb 1:13.

in the NT.⁵⁸⁹ Furthermore, the themes of the psalm became popular among New Testament writers, the motif of “right hand/side” occurring frequently and even becoming part of later Christian credo.⁵⁹⁰

Later reception of Ps 109(110) indicates that the psalm was interpreted as detailing a combination of royal and priestly roles as well as “the idea of supreme eschatological exaltation.”⁵⁹¹ It is also worth noting that the two psalms that Paul quotes in the passage examined above, Psalms 8 and 109(110), occur together elsewhere in the New Testament—for instance, in Heb 1:13 (Ps 109[110]:1), 2:6–8 (Ps 8:5–7),⁵⁹² and Eph 1:20–22.

The wording of the psalm elsewhere other than in 1 Corinthians and Ephesians seems to derive more directly from the available LXX sources, as they are in accordance with one another. Hebrews, Acts,⁵⁹³ and Luke follow the wording of Ps

⁵⁸⁹ For further analysis of the psalm in the NT, see Hay 1973. Notably, Hay (17) mentions that vv. 1 and 4 of the psalm were often used by early Christian writers, and only after Justin Martyr did the explicit use of the other parts of the psalm become more common. For a brief overview of the reception of the psalm in the New Testament, see Hossfeld and Zenger 2011, 153–154. In addition, the two psalms are combined also in Polycarp’s *ad Phil.* 2:1f (for an analysis, see Hengel 1991, 167–168). Cited in *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁰ Hengel (1995, 133) similarly views the phrase “sit at the right hand of God” as—directly or indirectly—dependent on Ps 109(110):1. Cf. Acts 2:33; 5:31; Rom 8:34; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2; 1 Pet 3:22.

⁵⁹¹ Watts 2004, 38.

⁵⁹² Thiselton (2000, 1235) describes the context of Hebrews as claiming that “humankind *qua* humankind failed to achieve what God purposed, [...] and the sovereignty described in Psalm 110 (LXX Psalm 109) was restored.” For a detailed study on this passage in Hebrews focusing on the *Vorlage* of the quotations, see Steyn 2011, 112–124.

⁵⁹³ Steyn (1995, 116–120) discusses the use of Ps 109(110) in Acts 2:34–35 in comparison to the synoptical Gospels as well as Hebrews. However, Steyn misleadingly notes (117) that “[i]n all places where it [LXX Ps 109] is explicitly quoted, it agrees with the LXX, except that some read ὑποκάτω, and others who read ὑποπόδιον,” even though he notes that the psalm is explicitly quoted in 1 Cor 15:25 as well, where the wording deviates from that of the LXX. It appears that Steyn does not consider that Ps 109(110):1 would be explicitly quoted in 1 Cor 15:25, which he states more clearly in his later study (2011, 117–118): “It is technically more correct to take the occurrence of Ps Ps 110 (109):1 here in 1 Cor 15:25 rather as an allusion, than as an explicit quotation, in the light of the absence of a clear introductory formula.” In his later study (2011, 119) he concludes that, following Rösen-Weinhold (2004, 187), Ps 109(110) probably was in circulation in several different forms since the New Testament authors quote the psalm using different wordings.

109:1 verbatim, whereas Matthew⁵⁹⁴ and Mark⁵⁹⁵ change the noun ὑποπόδιον to the adverb ὑποκάτω, perhaps influenced by Ps 8:7.⁵⁹⁶ Furthermore, the first line of Ps 109:1—“The Lord said to my Lord”—is crucial to the argumentation in each of the synoptic gospels, whereas Paul omits the line entirely. For the synoptic gospels, this line shows that Jesus is more than just David’s human descendant.⁵⁹⁷ The quotation in Ephesians is in accordance with Pauline modifications of the quotation from Ps 8:7, following it verbatim with the omission of γάρ. This indicates that the author of Ephesians is dependent on Paul’s wording of the quotation. Regarding the quotation in Hebrews, although the author of Hebrews seems to rely on the LXX sources following both psalms verbatim—it can hardly be a coincidence that he uses the same combination of the two psalms that occur in 1 Cor 15:25–27. The author is most likely dependent on Paul’s use of the psalms, even if a pre-Pauline combination of the two psalms cannot be ruled out.⁵⁹⁸ In sum, the sources that post-date Paul’s genuine letters cannot serve as evidence of a pre-Pauline combination of the two psalms.

⁵⁹⁴ In Matthew, the context of the quotation is Jesus’s confrontation with the Pharisees. The scene changes into a dialogue, where Jesus first asks the Pharisees whose son they think the Messiah is. They answer that he is the son of David. Jesus questions this with a quotation, saying, “How is it then that David by the Spirit calls him Lord, saying...” (v. 43, NRSV). According to Menken (2004, 62), Matthew borrowed this quotation from Mark 12:36, as he borrows six other psalm quotations from Mark, and four from Q. Only three psalm quotations appear to be attributed to Matthew himself. In his conclusion, Menken (2004, 82) notes that “Matthew’s view of the significance of the psalms is probably best perceptible in the way his Jesus introduces the quotation from Ps. 110:1 in 22:44: in the psalms, David spoke ‘by the Spirit’ about the son of David, who is at the same time the Son of God.” See also Piotrowski 2016.

⁵⁹⁵ Mark frames the quotation with the scene where Jesus asserts his identity. He pronounces the quotation with the introductory formula: “David himself, by the Holy Spirit, declared [...]” (NRSV). The quotation is followed by Jesus’s question: “David himself calls him Lord; so how can he be his son?” (Mark 12:37 NRSV). With this scene, it is implied that the enemies, who are subjected under Christ’s feet, are the Temple authorities who question Jesus (Watts 2004, 36, 40). For more on Mark’s interpretation of Christ’s role as God’s son, see Rowe, 2002, 278–295.

⁵⁹⁶ Schrage 2001, 156; Menken 2004, 74.

⁵⁹⁷ Menken 2004, 74; Watts 2004, 39; Rowe 2002, 279–282; Doble 2004, 96.

⁵⁹⁸ Similarly, Koch 1986, 244; Stanley 1992, 207. According to Koch (244), since Hebrews usually quotes a longer passage from the LXX, it seems that the author is not dependent only on Paul. However, a pre-Pauline Christian liturgical use of the psalms cannot be proven. Contra Luz (1968, 344), who argues that both Ps 109(110):1 and Ps 8:7 belong to the same old liturgical work (“Beide Schriftstellen stehen im selben alten liturgischen Stück”).

Curiously, Ps 110 (MT) is not quoted explicitly in the Dead Sea Scrolls, nor is it attested among the scrolls or elsewhere in Second Temple literature.⁵⁹⁹ This is a striking absence, since, in addition to Ps 110 (MT), there are only two psalms (Pss 111 and 117) of the fifth book of the Masoretic Psalter that are not attested among the scrolls.⁶⁰⁰ This might be due to the combination of priestly and royal roles attested in the psalm, which were perhaps viewed as threatening among the Qumran community, since the psalm would thus be considered as supporting the Hasmonean regime in power.⁶⁰¹ Interestingly, for Paul, the same combination of priestly and royal roles seems to have been attractive, and the possible political implication of the psalm might have encouraged Paul to use it.

5.2.5. Conclusions on Paul's Use of Psalms in 1 Corinthians 15:25 and 27

If Paul intended his audience to recognize the reference to Ps 109(110), did he expect them to be able to reflect on the cited words of the psalm in its larger literary context? If so, the literary context of the psalm would support Paul's argumentation, since the themes of priesthood and royal enthronement are intertwined in the psalm, which suit Paul's characterization of Christ.

Psalm 109(110) also contains enthronement themes and has thus been viewed by some as deriving from the royal period, hence being pre-exilic.⁶⁰² On the other hand, since the psalm bears an emphasis on a priest-king, it has been seen as fostering a legitimization of the Hasmonean regime during the Maccabean period.⁶⁰³ Furthermore, others view the psalm as representing the "(early) postexilic expectation of the restoration of Israel in which motifs from preexilic royal theology are taken up

⁵⁹⁹ Lange and Weigold (2011) have not found any references to Ps 109(110) in Second Temple Jewish literature, though it is possible that their strict criteria for identifying references have ruled out possible cases. However, Lange and Weigold (2011, 370) mention one uncertain allusion to Ps 110:4 (MT), which may be alluded to in 4QVisions of Amram^c (4Q545) IV, 19. In addition, Steyn (2011, 115) mentions 4QHistorical Work / 4QMidrEschat^c (4Q183) as a possible allusion to Ps 110.

⁶⁰⁰ Pajunen 2014, 155.

⁶⁰¹ Pajunen 2014, 156. Similarly Watts 2004, 37–38.

⁶⁰² See, e.g., Seybold 1996, 437–438.

⁶⁰³ See, e.g., Duhm 1899, 254–256.

and associated with the ‘new’ theme of priesthood.”⁶⁰⁴ The restoration is expected to begin with a new David.⁶⁰⁵ Zenger argues that, contrary to the so-called first two Davidic Psalters (MT Pss 2–41 and MT Pss 51–72), in Ps 109(110) David is not “the model of royal petitioner with references to his life story as told in the books of Samuel,”⁶⁰⁶ nor is he depicted as a “historical” king, as in the Davidic Psalter of MT Pss 101–103.⁶⁰⁷ Rather, in this psalm, David is curiously modeled “as a ‘new’ David [...] whom God will give for the restoration of his people and seat on his throne.”⁶⁰⁸ In sum, these emphases seems to suit Paul’s argumentation well: through the wording used in the psalm, Paul implies that Christ is a new Davidic ruler.

As for the combination of Pss 109 and 8, Hays views that it is “indisputable that 1 Cor 15:25–27 presupposes a Christological reading of Pss 8 and 110. Both are psalms of David, and the connection of Pss 110 to the Davidic kingship tradition is familiar as a topic of controversy in early Christianity (cf. Mark 12:35–37; Acts 2:33–36).”⁶⁰⁹ Furthermore, Hays argues that since neither of these psalms are introduced with a quotation formula and the messianic or eschatological interpretation is not explicated but assumed, this might suggest that there was already a pre-Pauline tradition of a messianic interpretation of the psalms, though there is no direct evidence of such a tradition.⁶¹⁰ As Paul intertwines these two psalms with reference to Christ, it can be seen as a conscious choice. His immanent and divine aspects are joined in his death and resurrection.⁶¹¹ Furthermore, the theme of Ps 8 appears to be central also to 1 Cor 15: in the creation psalm, the human being is allotted domination over both

⁶⁰⁴ In Hossfeld and Zenger 2011, 144. Furthermore, Zenger (*ibid.*, 145) mentions that the priestly aspect of kingship is developed in v. 4 through a link to Melchizedek, who was both king and priest.

⁶⁰⁵ Zenger (in Hossfeld and Zenger [2008, 204] 2011, 146) proposes a postexilic dating based on its priest motif, which presumes Ps 89—thus, the relative dating.

⁶⁰⁶ Hossfeld and Zenger 2011, 147.

⁶⁰⁷ Hossfeld and Zenger 2011, 147. Quotation marks by Zenger.

⁶⁰⁸ Hossfeld and Zenger 2011, 147.

⁶⁰⁹ Hays 2005c, 109.

⁶¹⁰ Hays 2005c, 109. For a survey of clues pointing to a pre-Pauline tradition in Paul’s letters, see Koch 1986, 232–256.

⁶¹¹ According to Conzelmann, Paul’s use of Ps 8 suggests that a messianic interpretation of the psalm was already common at the time Paul dictated the letter: “[w]egen der Selbstverständlichkeit, mit des Ps 8 messianisch gedeutet wird, kann man vermuten, daß diese Deutung dem Paulus bereits geläufig ist (ob aus dem Christentum oder aus dem Judentum [...])” (Conzelmann 1981, 335).

the earth and death. Likewise Christ as the new Adam, who is assigned to reign over the earth in the creation account in Gen 1:26, will reign over the earth and death.

5.3. Genesis 15:6 and Psalm 31(32):1 in Romans 4:3–8

The fourth chapter of the letter to the Romans is dense in theological content and has prompted lively scholarly debate. This chapter of the letter deals with the question of the basis for which the uncircumcised should be taken into Israel's covenant, which is by definition marked by circumcision. Furthermore, the passage has become engrained in theological discussion: what is the role of works (of law) within a Christian life versus justification by faith? The binary view of juxtaposing works and faith has also been criticized by scholars of the so-called New Perspective on Paul.⁶¹² For the purpose and scope of this study, the debate over the theological impact of the passage is irrelevant, so I will not discuss it here.⁶¹³ On the other hand, the reference to David's name in the quotation formula is significant for this study: what is it meant to convey? That is, why was it important for Paul to introduce the quotation of Ps 31(32) with a reference to David?

In the previous cases of Rom 3:4 and 1 Cor 15:25–27 dealt with above, Paul combines two psalm texts. In the case of Rom 4:3–8, Paul connects quotations from the psalms with a quotation from the Pentateuch. In Romans 4, Paul develops the argument he had presented in Rom 3:27–31 by quoting from Gen 15:6 followed by Ps 31(32):1–2. The method by which Paul connects these two texts in this passage is also of interest. Paul interprets the first quoted scriptural passage in light of Ps 31(32), both of them sharing the lexeme *λογίζομαι*, citing Ps 31(LXX):1b–2a verbatim but leaving out the Davidic superscription in verse 1—as it would distract the flow of thought—and the latter part of verse 2:

⁶¹² See, e.g., Stendahl 1976; Sanders 1977; Räisänen (1983) 1987; Dunn 1988. For a critique of the New Perspective for not describing Paul, in their view, enough “within Judaism,” see Nanos and Zetterhom (eds.) 2015; Boyarin 1994.

⁶¹³ A survey of the theological debate of the concept of faith, the interpretation of Gen 15, and the context of Romans 4 is provided in Schließer 2007. Cf. also Kujanpää 2019, 62–64.

Romans 4:6–8

καθάπερ⁶¹⁴ καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ὃ ὁ θεὸς λογίζεται δικαιοσύνην χωρὶς ἔργων· 7 μακάριοι ὧν
ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· 8
μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ⁶¹⁵ οὐ μὴ λογίσῃται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

So also David speaks of the blessedness of those to whom
God reckons righteousness apart from works:

7 “Happy are those whose lawless behavior is forgiven,
and whose sins are covered; 8 happy is the one whose sin
the Lord will not reckon.” (NRSV modified)

Ps 31:1–2 LXX

τῷ Δαυιδ συνέσεως μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν
ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι 2 μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ⁶¹⁶ οὐ μὴ
λογίσῃται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ
δόλος.

Pertaining to David. Of understanding. Happy are those
whose lawless behavior was forgiven and whose sin the
Lord will not reckon, and in his mouth there is no deceit.
(NETS)

Table 5.4: Comparison of texts in Rom 4:3–6

Since *λογίζομαι* occurs also in Gen 15:6 to describe Abraham as righteous before his circumcision, Paul draws an analogy between this text and Ps 30(31):2 in Rom 4.⁶¹⁷ Some scholars view Paul’s method of combining the two quotations as resembling what would later become known as *gēzērāh šāwāh* in rabbinic literature: the same

⁶¹⁴ This particle is rare in Pauline quotations. Besides this instance, Paul uses the particle also in Rom 12:4; 1 Cor 10:10; 12:12; 2 Cor 1:14; 2 Cor 3:13, 18; 8:11; 1 Thess 2:11; 3:6, 12; 4:5; cf. also Heb 4:2.

⁶¹⁵ κ² A C D² F K L P Ψ 33. 81. 104. 365. 630. 1175. 1241. 1505. 1881. 2464 and the majority text read ὃ instead of οὗ, when the pronoun is connected with the verb. In either case, the pronoun is connected with the verb, as it is in Paul’s introduction to the quotation in Rom 4:6.

⁶¹⁶ The Lucianic text, Theodotion, Symmachus, and MS 1219 read ὃ. If both pronouns would have been repeated, this reading would have been closer to the Hebrew text according to MT, but there is no manuscript evidence for this; cf. Silva 2001, 280.

⁶¹⁷ Dunn (1988, 203) notes that Paul deliberately uses the language of commercial dealings: *λογίζομαι* can mean reckoning of one’s debts; cf. Heidland’s (1976, 284) *TDNT* article providing for *λογίζομαι* the meaning “reckon or put someone’s account.”

words occurring in two different places in scripture can be used as a basis for mutual interpretation.⁶¹⁸ Notably, the context of Genesis does not attest the claim that Abraham would have become righteous without works, but, instead, his acts are that which show his trust in God's promise.

Paul introduces the figure of Abraham to the audience of Romans for the first time with the clause *Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν εὐρηκέναι Ἀβραάμ τὸν προπάτορα ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα* (Rom 4:1).⁶¹⁹ According to Fitzmyer, the figure of Abraham is introduced to justify Paul's claims in Rom 3:21–31: that the righteousness of God is manifested without law, that it was announced by the Law and the Prophets (v. 21, *ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν*), and that one becomes righteous through the law of faith, not by “doing” the law (v. 27). Thus, the covenant is open to the gentiles as well (v. 29).⁶²⁰

The questions that are relevant here concern the combination of two different text sources in verses 3–8: as Paul quotes from Gen 15:6 in verse 3, Paul seems to be

⁶¹⁸ Fitzmyer 1992, 376. Dunn (1988, 197) expresses more boldly that “[t]he exposition of Gen 15:6 [...] is one of the finest examples of Jewish midrash available to us from this era.” See also Avemarie 2013, 375–376. Brooke (1985, 138–139) provides examples in which the method that was called *gēzērāh šāwāh* in later rabbinic literature is used in Qumranic texts: 4QFlor 1:10–13 alludes by the word *הקימותי* to Amos 9:11 and 2 Sam 7:11, since the word occurs in both instances. Similarly, in 4QFlor 1:14 the method is used to connect Ps 1 with Isa 8:11 through their analogical use of *דך* (Brooke 1985, 147) and Ps 1 with Ezek 37:23 through their analogical use of *מושב* (Brooke 1985, 148). Baron and Oropeza (2016, 65) note that the method of *gēzērāh šāwāh* is the second principle of interpretation in the list of Hillel (first century CE). Cf. t. Sanh. 7.11., Avot A 37; Sipra 3a. See pp. 41–42 of the study at hand.

⁶¹⁹ For different suggestions regarding the interpretation of this verse, see Hays 2005b, 62–67. Hays (67) himself suggests a deviating punctuation of NA²⁷ (as well as NA²⁸) and to take Abraham as the direct object of the difficult infinitive *εὐρηκέναι*: “What then shall we say? Have we found Abraham (to be) our forefather according to the flesh?” See also Jewett (1971, 142–143), who provides a survey of different solutions in previous scholarship, either interpreting *κατὰ σάρκα* as modified by *εὐρίσχω* (“Have we found according to flesh [i.e., according to human standards] Abraham to be our forefather?”) or nominal phrase (“What shall we say that Abraham found [who is] our forefather according to flesh?”) Jewett argues in his earlier study for the latter solution, whereas later he (2007, 304, 307–309) argues for the former solution. Furthermore, *εὐρηκέναι* can be interpreted as referring to the subject of the finite verb (*ἐροῦμεν*) “what we can say that we have found...” The diversity of the textual evidence demonstrates that interpretation of this verse has caused difficulties throughout time. For a discussion of textual evidence, see, e.g., Jewett 2007, 304–305; Cranfield 1975, 226–227; Wilckens 1978, 260ff.

⁶²⁰ Fitzmyer 1992, 369. Fitzmyer (1992, 372) also notes that there are some “sort of midrash” parallels to Paul's passage in contemporary Jewish thinking, as Gen 26:5 is elaborated on in Sir 44:19–23: Abraham is said to have observed the Law even before the law was given (or before the written state of the law came into existence). In addition, see Jub 6:19, 23:10; Wis 10:5; 1 Macc 2:52; 2 Bar. (Syr. Apoc.) 57:2. See also later rabbinic views, m. Qidd. 4.14 (Dunn 1988, 200).

elaborating on and explaining the meaning of this quote by then quoting from Ps 31(32):1–2, indicating that he considered the psalm text to bear an authoritative status. The attribution to David, attested in both the LXX and MT superscriptions, is repeated in Paul’s quotation formula “as David says.”⁶²¹

Variation in quotation formulae here does not seem to reflect the degree of authority which Paul intends to gain by quoting from each given text. In each case, rather, he attempts to prove his assertion to be irrefutable with an explicit and recognizable quotation, which makes it plausible that he estimated the authority of the quoted texts to be high. This does not mean that he would not have hesitated to insert the quoted text into a very different context or to make lexical, grammatical or structural changes to the wording. For instance, “works” does not occur in Psalm 31(32), but this does not prevent Paul from introducing the quotation that “as David also speaks [...], God reckons righteousness apart from *works*” (Rom 4:6: *καθάπερ καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὃ ὁ θεὸς λογίζεται δικαιοσύνην χωρὶς ἔργων*). That is, even if the psalm does not mention works, it functions as proof that one can become righteous without works.⁶²² When Paul quotes Ps 31(32) in verses 7–8, he draws attention to lawlessness (*ἀνομίαι*) and transgressions (*ἁμαρτίαι*), which are said to be forgiven for the psalmist and who is thus declared to be blessed.⁶²³

Paul may refer to David’s name when quoting the psalm for any of three—not necessarily mutually exclusive—reasons: First, David’s name simply shows from which part of scripture Paul is quoting as the psalms were commonly attributed to

⁶²¹ On Paul’s quotation formulae, see sub-sec. 1.3.2 of the study at hand. In this case, Paul might refer to David’s name as a marker of the scriptural book he is quoting (cf. Kujanpää 2019, 70), since the psalms were attributed to David in antiquity. However, there also seem to be other reasons to explicate David in the context of Romans 4. For a discussion of these, see below.

⁶²² Fitzmyer (1992, 375) points out that the word “works” is situated in the emphatic final position of the phrase.

⁶²³ Dunn (1988, 204–205) notes that the Pauline interpretation in the previous verse (“the one who justifies the ungodly”) contradicts the “frequently repeated canon of Jewish justice” (204), listing texts such as Exod 23:7; Prov 17:5; 24:24; Isa 5:23; Sir 42:2; CD I, 19. Especially interesting here is Paul’s subtle reference to Ps 105(106):31: *καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην* (Ps 105:31a), as Paul refers to this psalm also in Rom 1:23 (to Ps 105[106]:20) and in 1 Cor 10:10 (to Ps 105[106]:25).

David's figure.⁶²⁴ Second, Paul may have used David's name to amplify the authority of the words following the introduction formula "as David says." Since reference to scripture (γραφή) or the more common quotation formula used by Paul, "as it is written," would convey the same function, it seems that David's name offered Paul another reason to explicate it. Namely, third, David serves as an example of repentance and the forgiveness of God.⁶²⁵ In Second Temple sources, David is depicted as a multifaceted figure: a shepherd, a warrior, a king, a songwriter, and an initiator of the temple liturgy.⁶²⁶ Notably, in Ps 31(32), David's biography is not explicitly spelled out, whereas the superscript of Ps 50(51) details the incident which is depicted most gravely as David's sin, is present.⁶²⁷

Psalms 31(32) has been characterized both as thanksgiving and as wisdom poetry.⁶²⁸ The wisdom characterization is derived from the title of the psalm according to its MT reading: מְשָׁכִיל, the precise meaning of which is uncertain. Various English translations of the term have been suggested, such as "a meditation," "a psalm of understanding," and "a skillful psalm."⁶²⁹ The word is a hiph. participle from the root שָׁכַל, the meaning of which in qal form is "to succeed" and in hiph. "to comprehend, to study, to seek."⁶³⁰ Furthermore, Ps 31(32) contains a list of beatitudes that is

⁶²⁴ See, e.g., Pajunen (2017b, 575–576) for listing the sources depicting David as songwriter and inventor of the Temple liturgy (namely, in 1 Chr 25 and 29; Sir 47:9–10; 11QPs^a XXVII, 4–5). For the comprehension of David as composing psalms, see also pp. 80–81 above.

⁶²⁵ Cf. also Kujanpää 2019, 70.

⁶²⁶ In Samuel–Kings, David is first depicted as a shepherd, then suddenly as a warrior and finally as a leader of King Saul's army (1 Sam 17). The sudden change and discrepancies within 1–2 Sam depicting David's figure is most plausibly explained by the different editorial layers present in the narrative, as these different compositions can be observed in the deviating versions of MT and LXX.

⁶²⁷ For a discussion, see sub-sec. 5.1.2.

⁶²⁸ Kraus (1988, 367; [1961] 1978, 394) classifies the psalm as "a *todah*, a song of thanksgiving by an individual." The other psalms carrying maskil in their headings are Pss 42, 52–55, 74, 78, 88, 89, 142. In addition, in 2 Chr 30:32 and Ps 47:8 the term is used to refer to different psalm types. (Mowinckel [1962] 2004, 209).

⁶²⁹ Craigie 1983, 264. The term maskil is attested in several texts found from the Judean Desert. It is also discussed whether the term is used in connection with the teacher of righteousness.

⁶³⁰ The uncertainty here is whether the participle refers to the psalm as such or whether it functions as a musical instruction, which is common in psalm titles. The title in LXX varies between manuscripts, but in each case the lexeme used is σύνεσις ("understanding").

paralleled in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. According to Brueggemann, "the lucky ones are not those free of transgression, but those able to move beyond it."⁶³¹

Paul might also have Sir 44:19–21 in mind here, according to Dunn, since the same words and similar ideas occur in both texts (Abraham, law-keeping, covenant, flesh, blessing, the word εὐ(σ)χω).⁶³² Nevertheless, Dunn points out that Paul and Sirach deal with these ideas differently: whereas in Sirach, the covenant promise to the nations "is a consequence of Abraham's faithfulness," for Paul, divine-human relations cannot be understood as a responsive relationship.⁶³³ Dunn further concludes that Paul draws on the figures of Abraham and David to show that the blessing of God comes from "outside the covenant and its works."⁶³⁴ This emphasis fits Paul's overall theme of circumcision in Rom 4. That is, Abraham was blessed before the circumcision. As for David, it is not a question of his circumcision but of the confession of his sins, as in the previous example of Rom 3:4. In sum, Abraham's figure shows that righteousness comes without law, since it had not yet been given to him, whereas David's figure demonstrates that, even when sin is committed according to the law, such is not reckoned when David regrets. Thus, both ancestors show that righteousness is not bound to the law.

5.4. Pairing A Psalm with Wisdom Literature: Job 5:13 in 1 Corinthians 3:19 and Psalm 93(94):11 in 1 Corinthians 3:20

Psalm 93(94) seems to be important to Paul since he explicitly quotes it twice (besides this instance, verse 14 is also quoted in Rom 11:2) and alludes to it in two instances (verse 1 is alluded to in 1 Thess 4:6 and verse 11 in Rom 1:21). The psalm quotation in 1 Cor 3:20 is introduced with the continuous quotation formula καὶ πάλιν ("and again [it is written]..."), which refers back to the explicit quotation formula "as it is

⁶³¹ Brueggemann 1984, 95.

⁶³² Dunn 1988, 200–201.

⁶³³ Dunn 1988, 200–201, 203.

⁶³⁴ Dunn 1988, 231. Dunn (1988, 205) clarifies further that David's figure is not introduced for the same purpose as Abraham's figure (i.e., as an example of righteousness without circumcision) but "merely as author." Contra Scott (2014, 39–48), who concludes that David's figure is not presented here to style him as "Davidic penitent" but as a "Davidic sage" (47).

written” used to introduce the quotation from Job 5:13 in the preceding verse.⁶³⁵ The context of 1 Corinthians 3 deals with wisdom themes that Paul handles polemically.⁶³⁶ There is one significant difference between the Pauline and the LXX reading: in 1 Cor 3:20, the nominalized adjective “the wise” replaces the generic word “human beings”:

1 Cor 3:20
καὶ πάλιν· κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς
διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν⁶³⁷ ὅτι εἰσὶν
μάταιοι.

and again, “The Lord knows the
thoughts of the wise, that they are
futile.”
(NRSV)

Ps 93(94):11
κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι.

The Lord knows the thoughts of human
beings, that they are futile.
(NETS modified)

Table 5.5: Comparison of texts in 1 Cor 3:20

The change from ἀνθρώπων to σοφῶν is unanimously viewed as a deliberate modification on the part of Paul since it reflects the overall theme of the letter, repeated also in the near context (verse 18: “wise by the world’s standards”).⁶³⁸ With this substitution Paul also appears to connect the psalm quotation to the previous quotation from Job 5:13 (ὁ καταλαμβάνων σοφούς ἐν τῇ φρονήσει βουλήν δὲ πολυπλόκων ἐξέστησεν), where the word σοφός “the wise one” seems to carry a negative connotation. Paul thus tries to find proof from the psalm for his claim that human wisdom is futile.

The psalm, the style of which has been characterized as mixed, combining both lament and wisdom style argumentation,⁶³⁹ fits Paul’s aims. Verses 9–11 comprise a

⁶³⁵ Curiously, the wording in Paul’s quotation differs from LXX Job in that it is closer to the Hebrew text. Thus, it has been argued in previous studies that Paul uses a recension of the Greek text that is revised to correspond more closely to the Hebrew. For a detailed analysis, see Koch 1986, 71–72; contra Stanley 1992, 190–191.

⁶³⁶ For a background on sophists in Corinth, see Winter (1997) 2002, 111–122. Goulder 2001, 47, lists the instances where Paul appears to contrast his own gospel of the cross with wisdom (σοφία, 1 Cor 1:17, 20; 2:4, 5, 13).

⁶³⁷ Curiously, many NT manuscripts and witnesses read ἀνθρώπων, harmonizing the text with LXX Ps 93:11.

⁶³⁸ For instance, Williams 2004, 165, and the previous studies listed by him (2004, 165, n. 9).

⁶³⁹ Hossfeld and Zenger 2005, 453. The psalm attests the superscript “A psalm of David, of the fourth day from the Sabbath” (= fourth day of the week). This superscript is lacking from the MT. Hossfeld

“trio of rhetorical questions”⁶⁴⁰ arguing for the superiority of the Creator over creation. Verses 4–7 display similar themes to those in Romans 1, which comprises a listing of what the “wicked” do and how they think that God does not see their iniquities (cf. also Romans 3). This literary context suits Paul’s argumentation of erring human wisdom.⁶⁴¹

The combination of the psalm text with a quotation from Job in the previous verse might be based on their similar themes: both texts deal with the unreliability of human beings compared to God’s just judgement.

5.5. Individually Occurring Quotations from Psalms

This section deals with explicitly marked psalm quotations that occur individually—i.e., without another scriptural quotation chained together with them—in the undisputed Pauline letters. There are altogether four such instances: Rom 8:36, 15:3, 1 Cor 10:26 and 2 Cor 4:11. In addition, there is one indirect quotation from the psalms that occurs alone—namely, Rom 2:6—which I have omitted from the analysis.⁶⁴²

5.5.1. *Psalm 43(44):23 in Romans 8:36*

In Rom 8:31–39, the main theme can be encapsulated as the sufferings of contemporary early Jesus-followers.⁶⁴³ Paul starts the passage in v. 31 with a question: “What shall we say about this?”⁶⁴⁴ referring to what he previously claimed: for those who love God, everything will work together for good (v. 28). He then asks that, if God is on their side, who could be against them? (v. 31). Paul argues that God will give us all things in him (namely the son) because God gave his own son “for the sake

mentions that the LXX addition is part of a series of additions from Pss 90 (LXX) onwards, including the beginning of weekdays in sequence from 91 (LXX onwards) (Hossfeld and Zenger 2005, 452).

⁶⁴⁰ Hossfeld and Zenger 2005, 454.

⁶⁴¹ Similarly, Williams 2004, 166–167.

⁶⁴² E.g., Stanley (1992) leaves this case out, since the quotation is not introduced explicitly, nor is a particle like γάρ or ὅτι used.

⁶⁴³ Similarly formulated in Hays 1989, 57.

⁶⁴⁴ Wright (2015, 519) notes that, unlike in Rom 3:1, 4:1, and 6:1, here Paul does not introduce the rhetorical question “What shall we say” to deny the possible conclusion.

of all of us” (v. 32).⁶⁴⁵ Due to ambiguous punctuation, verses 33–36 have prompted different solutions for interpreting Paul’s argumentation.⁶⁴⁶ Notably, in verse 33, there is an allusion to Ps 109(110):1, which Paul quotes also in 1 Cor 15:25: “who is at the right hand of God.”⁶⁴⁷ Finally, Paul asks “who can separate us from the love of God” (v. 35), giving a list of potential obstacles: “hardship, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword” (NRSV).

To demonstrate these hardships and sufferings, Paul introduces a quotation using the formula “as it is written that” and then quotes Ps 43:23 (LXX) in v. 36: “Because of you we are being killed all day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter” (NRSV) ὅτι⁶⁴⁸ ἔνεκα σοῦ θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς (PS 43[44]:23). Paul quotes the text almost verbatim, substituting ἔνεκα for ἔνεκεν.⁶⁴⁹

Psalm 43(44) is peculiar among the LXX and MT psalms as it portrays a lamenting “us” who claims to have kept the law but is still suffering. The psalmist does not express that the suffering is a punishment for idolatrous acts or unfaithfulness but, on the contrary, “for your sake” (addressing God) the righteous are being killed all day along (v. 23). Cranfield argues that Paul takes the psalm as an example of similarity: just as Israel in the past, so does the present generation of worshippers

⁶⁴⁵ Wright (2015, 522) points out that this promise in Rom 8:32 comes close to the promise in 1 Cor 15:24–28: God will subject all the enemies to the feet of Christ.

⁶⁴⁶ For the different alternatives, see Wright 2015, 520; Cranfield 1975, 437–439.

⁶⁴⁷ Curiously, Cranfield (1975, 439) notes that the punctuation of this verse seems to be influenced by the vivid language of the psalm.

⁶⁴⁸ Cranfield (1975, 440) understands this ὅτι in Paul as a *ῥῆσις recitativum*—i.e., introducing the quotation. Thus, according to him, it is not part of the quotation, though the Pauline wording now resembles the wording of the psalm.

⁶⁴⁹ BDF (§216) defines ἔνεκα and ἔνεκεν as “improper prepositions,” which “have begun to gain ground, i.e. adverbs or nouns in various cases which attained the character of prepositions [...] [and] hardly ever used without their case (gen.) like the proper preposition. The line of demarcation between adverb and preposition is naturally difficult to draw (BDF §203). The manuscript evidence of Romans for this verse is unanimous, whereas for the psalm, a few witnesses (S/8, 2013, some Lucianic manuscripts, T, A) read in accordance with the wording of Romans (ἔνεκεν). Stanley proposes that this reading of the psalm text might be original, since it is attested in many reliable witnesses. If this is the case, Paul would have simply followed his *Vorlage*. Koch 1986, 55, n. 37: “die Abänderung ist wohl nicht erst auf Pls zurückzuführen.” Cf. Stanley 1992, 103.

suffer for the sake of their belief: “tribulations are characteristic of God’s people.”⁶⁵⁰ In contrast, Hays argues that, rather than showing that “righteous people have always suffered [...] Paul’s point [...] is that Scripture prophesies suffering as the lot of those (i.e., himself and his readers) who live in the eschatological interval between Christ’s resurrection and the ultimate redemption of the world.”⁶⁵¹ Furthermore, previous studies have pointed out hints to the sacrifice of Isaac in Rom 8, the language of not sparing even your only son echoing Gen 22. Some scholars have even suggested that the interpretation of Jesus’s death might have developed from the so-called Akedah tradition.⁶⁵²

The psalm has been described as a communal prayer song (although the individual “I” is expressed in vv. 4, 6, and 15, this may be “a representative of the community”⁶⁵³), in which the community laments its loss to an enemy. In the context of the psalm, the lament of an Israel in exile is put by Paul into the mouths of early Jesus followers. Interestingly, the laments of the psalm are levelled explicitly against God. In verse 12 of the psalm, similar imagery of sheep for slaughter (ὡς πρόβατα βρώσεως) is used as in verse 23 (ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς), quoted by Paul, with the exception that in this case the psalmist accuses God of actively surrendering them as sheep (ἔδωκας ἡμᾶς), whereas in verse 23, from which Paul quotes, it is said more obliquely: “for your sake we are killed...” (ἐνεκα σοῦ θανατούμεθα...). Of further interest in the psalm is that there are comparable lists of hardships to those Paul gives in Rom 8:35. While the psalmist complains about the reproach of his neighbors (v. 14), the shame of covering his face (v. 16), and being under the threat of death (v. 20), when Paul quotes this verse, it is no longer an accusation against God but a description

⁶⁵⁰ Cranfield 1975, 440.

⁶⁵¹ Hays 1989, 58. Hays (1989, 60) states that “by numerous emphatic disclaimers throughout the text asserting the continuity of his [Paul’s] proclamation with the Law [...], citation of Ps 44:22 whispers another disclaimer [...] by identifying himself and his Christian readers with the suffering Israel of the psalm, Paul evokes (metaleptically) the psalmist’s denial of any charge of idolatrous defection.”

⁶⁵² See the references in Hays 1989, 62, 205–206, n. 54; Wright 2015, 518. For a detailed analysis of the Jewish sources for Gen 22 and their comparison to the sacrifice of Jesus, see Vermes 1961, 193–218. On the Akedah tradition among the New Testament writers, see Vermes 1961, 218–227.

⁶⁵³ Kraus (1978) 1988, 445.

of the experiences of the tribulations caused by *others*. The theme of the passage in Paul's quotation is thus not God's silence but his steadfast love.⁶⁵⁴

5.5.2. *Ps 68:10 (MT 69:9) in Rom 15:3*

Chapter 15 of the letter to the Romans begins with Paul's exhortation: "We who are powerful, ought to bear the weaknesses of the powerless ones and not to please ourselves" (Rom 15:1; Ὁφείλομεν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ τὰ ἀσθενήματα τῶν ἀδυνάτων βαστάζειν καὶ μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκειν). With this statement, Paul reverts to Christological and ecclesiological argumentation, after having dealt with social and political relationships among the congregation in chapter 14.

The quotation in Rom 15:3 is introduced with the formula "as it is written." The wording follows the LXX witnesses⁶⁵⁵ verbatim apart from omitting the first line of the verse and the initial conjunction καί: "The reproaches of those who reproach you fell upon me" (LXX Ps 68:10b: καὶ οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε ἐπέπεσαν ἐπ' ἐμέ).⁶⁵⁶ The reproaches levelled against God now fall upon the psalmist.⁶⁵⁷ The theme of the quotation from Ps 68:10 (LXX) is similar in comparison to the individually occurring psalm quotation in Romans that was analyzed above—namely Ps 43(44) quoted in Rom 8:36. In particular, in Ps 68(69), the psalmist complains that the enemies reproach God and that their reproach is now directed at the lamenting subject. Interestingly, in verse 8 of the psalm, the psalmist again makes similar accusations against God: "because for your sake I bore reproach (ὀνειδισμός), embarrassment covered my face" (Ps 68:8 NETS).

⁶⁵⁴ Kujanpää 2019, 322.

⁶⁵⁵ Rahlfs lists *L'* as reading ἐπέπεσον (correcting the mixed-aorist form to a grammatically correct weak aorist form). A similar interchange of ἔνεκα and ἔνεκεν occurs in mss of Ps 24(25):7, for which R *L'* and 55 correct ἔνεκα to ἔνεκεν.

⁶⁵⁶ Stanley (1992, 179) only mentions that Paul leaves out the initial conjunction "to create a smoother transition from his own language to that of the biblical citation."

⁶⁵⁷ This psalm is used also by the evangelist in the passion narrative. See Hays 2005c, 104–107. For an analysis of the use of this lamentation psalm in Matthew's passion narrative, see Hays 2016, 140–141, 161. According to Hays (2016, 140), Matthew emphasizes solidarity with Israel's suffering, expressed by referring to lamentation psalms during Jesus's passion. In addition, Hays states that Paul seems to have had a "convention to read the lament psalms as prophetic anticipations of the Messiah's suffering" (Hays 1989, 87).

The quotation in Rom 15:3 can be seen as part of a longer passage where Paul uses a catena of quotations consisting of different scriptural texts—namely Ps 17:50 / 2 Sam 22:59, Ps 117:1, Isa 11:10, and Deut 32:43 (LXX).⁶⁵⁸ For instance, Hays views the quotation in Rom 15:3 as being bound with the catena in Rom 15:9–12, further arguing that Christ should be understood as the speaker of both the psalm quotations Ps 17(18) and 68(69).⁶⁵⁹ Whether this interpretation is evident from the context or whether this reading would require a shared understanding of the Christological interpretation of the psalm⁶⁶⁰ is still contested in scholarship.⁶⁶¹

Notably, the passage quoted from the end of Deuteronomy later in the chapter (Rom 15:10) is part of the Song of Moses (Deut 32:30–47), a poem inserted into the prose text.⁶⁶² According to Hays, by quoting from this text, Paul underlines that “the Gentiles do not stand alone with Christ; they are being summoned to join *with* Israel in rejoicing.”⁶⁶³ Hays argues that “for Paul’s purposes it is wonderfully useful to find a text in which Moses [...] includes Gentiles in the company of the people of God.”⁶⁶⁴

Paul’s explanation of the quotation in the following verse (4) illuminates how the psalms—among other scriptural texts—function in Paul’s writings: “For whatever

⁶⁵⁸ Thus classified, e.g., in Wright 2015, 642: “[...] the crescendo of scriptural quotations in vv. 3, 9–12 lead the eye up to the source and ground of Christian faith and hope, the Messiah himself, risen to rule the world.” Cf. Kujanpää 2019, 273–277. Hays (1989, 71) points out that many commentators have noted that Paul inserts in the catena texts from each tripartite entity of scripture: from the Pentateuch, the Prophets and the Writings. This is, however, a later view of scripture, since it seems that Paul considers the psalms to convey divine prophecy. For a discussion of psalms as prophecy and the emergence of the tripartite view on scripture, see sub-sec. 3.1.1.

⁶⁵⁹ Hays 2005c, 101–102; Hays 1989, 72. Hays stresses in both of his studies that a Christological reading of the psalm is not characteristic of Paul, which leads him (Hays 2005c, 102) to argue that there must have been an early Christian tradition of interpreting Ps 68 (LXX) in such a way. Hays’s view is followed by Scott 2014, 134.

⁶⁶⁰ Hays (1989, 72, 87; 2005, 102) suggests that there must be a shared Christological interpretation of the psalm since Paul does not explain it but rather assumes his recipients to follow his argumentation.

⁶⁶¹ See, e.g., Kujanpää (2019, 274–75), who considers the identification of the subject of the speaker with Christ to be unambiguous. However, according to Kujanpää (2019, 275), it is not clear to whom “you” in the quotation refer.

⁶⁶² For the vast amount of references to the Song of Moses in late Second Temple sources, see Lange and Weigold 2011, 110. Of the LXX texts, the poem is referred to in Pss (MT) 97:7; 135:14; Job 10:7; 20:16; 2 Macc 7:6; 4 Macc 18:19; Sir 12:6; 32:23.

⁶⁶³ Hays 1989, 72. Emphasis his.

⁶⁶⁴ Hays 1989, 72.

was written in former days was written for our instruction (διδασκαλία), so that by steadfastness and by the encouragement of the scriptures we might have hope” (NRSV). Thus, Paul appears to strengthen his claim that his teachings have already been proclaimed in scripture, basing this claim on a psalm text. As noted before in this study, this demonstrates that Paul uses psalm texts in exhortative teaching and interprets them as carrying prophetic power.

5.5.3. *Ps 23(24):1 in First Corinthians 10:26*

Paul quotes from Ps 23(24):1 in 1 Cor 10:26, a passage (vv. 1–10) in which he has earlier alluded to the wilderness narrative. While I assess the context of 1 Cor 10 in chapter 6 of this study,⁶⁶⁵ here it suffices to note that Paul addresses the issue of proper behavior in the Corinthian congregation where there appears to have been unresolved questions concerning eating food that might have been sacrificed to idols. Some congregation members ignore the origin of their food, as they consider their wisdom teaching to protect them from believing in unclean food. However, there are members who, according to Paul’s wording, are “weak” and thus might wander astray if they see their fellow members of the congregation consuming idol food. Paul appears to vacillate between these two views. In chapter 8 and in 10:1–22, he is stricter about the consumption of such food. However, in the latter part of chapter 10, in verses 23–33, Paul returns to his more liberal view concerning eating idol food. In verse 26, he quotes from Ps 23(24):1 to support his claim in verse 25 (eat anything that is sold in the meat market) with scripture. The quotation is marked by the conjunction γάρ, which is inserted into the quotation, which has prompted some scholars to classify this as an indirect quotation:

1 Cor. 10:26
τοῦ κυρίου γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ
τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς.
for “the Lord’s is the
earth and its fullness.”

Ps 23(24):1
 ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ τῆς μιᾶς
 σαββάτων τοῦ κυρίου ἡ γῆ
καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς ἡ
οἰκουμένη καὶ πάντες οἱ
κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ

⁶⁶⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the context and the scholarly debate over interpreting Paul’s stance, see section 6.2 of the present study.

(NRSV, modified) A Psalm pertaining to
David [of the first day of
the week]
The Lord's is the earth
and its fullness. The world
and all who live in it.
(NETS)

Ps 49(50):12:
ἐὰν πεινάσω οὐ μὴ σοι
εἴπω ἐμὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ
οἰκουμένη καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα
αὐτῆς
“If I am hungry, I will not
tell you, for the world is
mine and its fullness.”
(NETS)

Ps 88:12 (MT 89:11)
σοὶ εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ σὴ
ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ τὴν οἰκουμένην
καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς σὺ
ἐθεμελίωσας
Yours are the heavens,
and yours is the earth;
the world and its fullness
that you founded.
(NETS, modified)

Table 5.6: Comprasion of possible source texts in 1 Cor 10:26

Paul narrows down the wording of Ps 23(24):1 by omitting the superscription of the psalm. Nevertheless, it cannot be said for certain whether the superscription was attested in Paul's *Vorlage* or whether it was a later addition. It is, in any case, improbable that the reference to the Sabbath would have been added only in the Christian transmission of the LXX Pss MSS.⁶⁶⁶ Paul also leaves out the latter part of the psalmic verse, thus drawing the recipient's attention to the “fullness” of the earth,

⁶⁶⁶ Thus also Rahlfs ([1931 1979, § 9.1.4 “zweifelloos jüdischer Herkunft”); contra Aitken (2015a, 328), who is more cautious about whether the superscriptions are of Jewish origin or not.

an image more easily associated with food than that of “the inhabitants” (οἱ κατοικοῦντες) of the earth.

It is also possible to detect here a connection to Pss 49(50):12 and 88:12 (MT 89:11) based on both lexical and thematic considerations. Both psalms use πλήρωμα αὐτῆς (“its fullness”) to refer to the world (οἰκουμένη). Ps 49(50) depicts a dialogue between God and his people. Verse 12, the wording of which can be seen in Paul’s text, conveys God’s speech, where he states that he will not tell the people if he is hungry since the world and its fullness are his. Ps 49(50) thus emphasizes the absurdity of God consuming offerings, whereas Ps 23(24) focuses on human beings’ consumption. Furthermore, Ps 49(50) alludes to the temple cult and its diminishing role, explicating in verse 14 that God is pleased by praise and not by burnt-offerings. This emphasis seems to suit Paul, who discusses the consumption of food and its relation to proper worship. If Paul would have quoted from or alluded to verse 13 of this psalm, it would have provided a strong argument for abstaining from consuming meat: “Surely, I shall not eat flesh of bulls or drink blood of he-goats?” (Ps 49:13 NETS). Similarly, Ps 88(89) uses the expression πλήρωμα αὐτῆς “its fullness” to refer to the world (οἰκουμένη). However, the psalm does not speak about the consumption of food as Ps 49(50) does; thus, the reference is merely lexical unlike the reference to Ps 49(50):12 and its near context, which is based on thematic correspondence and metalepsis in addition to lexical correspondence.

In contrast, the quotation from Ps 23(24) does not appear to be as clearly metaleptical. With the modifications to Ps 23(24) and Paul’s recontextualization of part of the psalm, the meaning of the short line from the psalm has slightly changed. For Paul’s purposes here, the main concern is not the creation and its origin in the Creator’s acts as they are in the psalm—though this assertion also supports Paul’s argument and may explain why he quoted from the psalm in the first place—but the inherent goodness of all products provided by the earth for consumption. Furthermore, Paul may be evoking the Sabbath by alluding to God’s role as the creator (Gen 2:2–3). In the creation narrative of Genesis, humankind is first allowed to eat from any tree except one (Gen 2:16–17), and when they break this command, they are doomed to cultivate the earth to acquire food (Gen 3:17–19). Thus, it is possible that the themes of Creator, the inherent goodness of all products, and the Sabbath are all reasons why

Paul quoted Ps 23(24) verbatim and not the psalms that more explicitly speak about eating.

5.5.4. *LXX Ps 115:1 (MT Ps 116:10) in 2 Corinthians 4:13*

In the context of Second Corinthians, a quotation is used after Paul's so-called hardship catalogue,⁶⁶⁷ where he lists all kinds of obstacles that he and his colleagues have faced when they have proclaimed the gospel. The passage opens with a metaphor of treasures carried in clay vessels, "so that it may be made clear that this extraordinary power belongs to God and does not come from us" (2 Cor 4:7; modified NRSV). This metaphor has been interpreted as underlining "the correlation between the mortality of apostles and their suitability as agents of the gospel,"⁶⁶⁸ as the theme of the letter is Paul's apologetics for his suitability to that task.⁶⁶⁹ In verse 8, Paul begins listing the obstacles he and his colleagues have faced, using embodied expressions, structured in an "A but B" pattern: afflicted in every way, but not crushed; perplexed, but not driven to despair; persecuted but not left lying on the ground (most modern translations: "forsaken"); struck down but not destroyed (vv. 8–9).⁶⁷⁰ In verse 10, Paul uses a combination of similar embodied expressions and theological statements: "we are always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be made visible in our bodies" (2 Cor 4:10 NRSV).⁶⁷¹ In verse 11, Paul further reasons that, if the followers of Jesus are given over to death through him, the life of Jesus must also be manifested in their "mortal flesh." In verse 12, he argues that,

⁶⁶⁷ For Greco-Roman parallels of hardship lists, see Furnish 1984, 281–282; Thrall 1994, 326. For the parallels in Qumran, see 1QH^a II, 23–25 (sufferings of the righteous) and 1QH^a V, 18–19; IX 13, 25–26 (deliverance from sufferings).

⁶⁶⁸ Furnish 1984, 278. Furthermore, Furnish (1984, 278) illustrates that Paul's formulation of "our mortal flesh" in v. 11 "could have affirmed Seneca's description of the body as 'a vessel that the slightest shaking, the slightest toss will break [...]' A body weak and fragile, naked, in its natural state defenceless [...] exposed to all the affronts of Fortune; [...] doomed to decay" (*To Marcia* xi.3).

⁶⁶⁹ A similar emphasis on the seeming contradiction of the power of God and weakness of human beings can be seen in 1 Cor 2:3–5 (Furnish 1984, 280).

⁶⁷⁰ Sampley 2015, 929.

⁶⁷¹ Sampley (2015, 846) notes this passage in 2 Corinthians also when assessing 1 Cor 15:31 where Paul uses similar expressions when speaking of "dying daily."

“consequently, death is operative in us, but life in you.”⁶⁷² In the following verse, Paul then turns from the vocabulary of life and death to argue that “we have the same spirit of faith (πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως) according to what is written (κατὰ τὸν γεγραμμένον⁶⁷³).” This is followed by a quotation from Ps 115:1 (LXX): ἐπίστευσα διὸ ἐλάλησα ἐγὼ δὲ ἐταπεινώθην σφόδρα.

Notably, this is the only instance in Paul in which he refers to the spirit when quoting from scripture.⁶⁷⁴ According to some scholars, rather than referring to “the same spirit” (τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα) shared by the Corinthians, Paul should be understood as referring here to the spirit of the speaking subject of the quotation.⁶⁷⁵ However, there is no consensus as to who should be identified as the speaking subject: David as the psalmist,⁶⁷⁶ Paul, or Christ.⁶⁷⁷ Views on this matter are also mixed. Margaret Thrall, for example, argues that Paul intended David to be the speaking subject but that “Paul applies the words of the speaker [...] not to Christ but to his own apostolic situation.”⁶⁷⁸ In contrast, Hays views this psalm quotation as possibly bearing a Christological reading of the speaking subject. He argues that Ps 115 (LXX) might have encouraged Paul to read the psalm christologically since “the ‘plot’ of the psalm displays the typical movement of laments from abasement to praise. Indeed, some of the vocabulary here is reminiscent of the Christ hymn of Phil 2 (ἐταπεινώθην, v. 1; δοῦλος, v. 7).”⁶⁷⁹

Arguments for either David or Christ as the subject of the quotation do not seem plausible since the original literary context of the quotation is not evoked in the context of Paul’s quotation. First, the psalm does not bear a Davidic superscription, though it might have been attributed to David by Paul and his contemporaries.⁶⁸⁰ Second, Paul’s

⁶⁷² According to the translation in Thrall 1994, 321.

⁶⁷³ This quotation formula is found only here in the entire NT.

⁶⁷⁴ Thrall (1994, 339) notes that this practice is otherwise common elsewhere in the NT: Matt 22:43; Mark 12:36; Acts 1:16; 2:25; 28:25; Heb 3:7; 10:15.

⁶⁷⁵ Thrall 1994, 339.

⁶⁷⁶ Thrall 1994, 340.

⁶⁷⁷ Hays 2005c, 108; Scott 2014, 139–140.

⁶⁷⁸ Thrall 1994, 340.

⁶⁷⁹ Hays 2005c, 108.

⁶⁸⁰ For a discussion of the attribution of the psalms to David, see note 344 of this study.

argument would be distorted if the entire verse was cited.⁶⁸¹ However, LXX Psalm 115:1 is less problematic for Paul as it translates the Hebrew: “I kept my faith, even when I said, ‘I am greatly afflicted’” (NRSV). On the other hand, the vocabulary of the psalm might have been attractive to Paul as it is one of the texts among the LXX Psalms to use the word-group *πίστις*.⁶⁸²

5.6. Conclusions on Paired Quotations in Paul’s Use in Comparison to Individually Occurring Psalm Quotations

This chapter has covered a selection of explicit and implicit quotations from psalms in the letters of Paul. The first section (5.1.) dealt with quotation pairs from Pss 115:2 (MT 116:11) and 50(51):6 in Romans 3:4. David’s figure and biography is depicted in the superscription of Ps 50(51), which Paul quotes in verse 4 after an indirect quotation from Ps 115(116). In Rom 3:4, Paul uses the wording of these psalms in his argumentation about human sinfulness and God’s mercy and faithfulness. Whether Paul knew Psalm 115(116) in its MT or LXX form remains uncertain. On the one hand, the near context of its MT composition would seem to strengthen Paul’s argumentation, as MT Ps 116:5 depicts the mercy of God. On the other hand, if Paul knew the psalm according to its LXX composition, the opening phrase, which contains the verb *πιστεύω*, would have been characteristic of Paul’s vocabulary. At any rate, the psalms that Paul pairs in Romans 3:4, whether according to their LXX or MT composition, emphasize God’s faithfulness and mercy despite human sin in anticipation of God’s forgiveness.

Section 5.2 dealt with two implicit quotations from the psalms paired in 1 Corinthians 15:25 and 27. In verse 25, Paul quotes from Ps 109(110):1 in arguing that Christ must reign “until he has put all his enemies under his feet” (NRSV). Ps 109(110):1 is also quoted frequently elsewhere in the NT likewise in the context of

⁶⁸¹ Similarly, Thrall (1994, 340), though I do not follow her conclusion that the speaking subject should be identified with David: “There is no concern with the context of the quotation. It merely provides scriptural warrant for Paul’s assertion that because he believes the gospel he proclaims it” (340).

⁶⁸² Besides this instance, cf. Pss (LXX) 18:8; 26:13; 34:20; 77:8 (*πιστόω*), 22, 34; 88:29, 38; 92:5 (*πιστόω*); 100:6; 105:12, 24; 110:7; 118:66; 144:13.

Christological argumentation. Unlike in the synoptic gospels, where the quotation is used to discuss Christ's Davidic kinship and the superiority of Christ over David, for Paul the quotation functions as proof of the eschatological event, when the ultimate enemy, death, will also be subjected to Christ. This is a topical theme for Paul in the passage, as he argues for the eschatological and bodily resurrection of the dead members of the congregation, which appears to have been questioned by the Corinthian recipients of his letter. The quotation from Ps 109(110) is extended by another quotation from Ps 8 in verse 27, which in turn is marked after the quoted words: "when it says... (ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ...)." Pss 8 and 109(110) are combined here, as they share similar vocabulary regarding submission at someone's feet. Furthermore, as Ps 8 is a creation psalm, where all the animals are subjected to human control, its vocabulary is suitable to Paul, as he deals with the submission of *all* to Christ. To conclude, Paul borrows the wording of Ps 8 and substitutes a suitable adjective from Ps 8 into his quotation from Ps 109(110).

The next section, 5.3, discussed a quotation from Ps 31(32) in Romans 4:6–8, which is combined with the quotation from Genesis in Romans 4:3. This passage is of interest for the study at hand since it is one of two instances where Paul refers to David by name when quoting from a psalm, employing the quotation formula "as David says" (Rom 4:6 and 11:9). In Rom 11:9, where the quotation from the psalms is inserted into a catena of quotations consisting of different scriptural texts, the reason for Paul's explication of David's name might be to identify the particular locus of the scriptural passage. In contrast, in Rom 4:6, it appears that David's name also—and foremost—bears theological reasons: through the quotation of Ps 31(32), David is depicted as a pious person whom God forgives after David (or the "I" of the psalm; cf. v. 5) expresses his regrets. Thus, David serves as a prime example of penitence. Furthermore, the psalm portrays and starkly juxtaposes the sins of David and a merciful God who will not reckon the sins.⁶⁸³ In the context of the Romans, Paul pairs a psalm passage with Genesis 15, bringing to the discussion the exemplary figure of Abraham.

⁶⁸³ For the change in the depiction of David as a warrior to that of David as an ideal pious individual in different Jewish sources, see Pajunen 2017b, 575–576.

In section 5.4, I briefly discussed an example in which Paul combines a psalm quotation with a passage from wisdom literature. In 1 Corinthians 3:20, following a quotation from Job 5:13 in the previous verse, Paul quotes from Ps 93(94):11. Here, Paul is arguing that human wisdom is transitory. Notably, Paul changes the wording of the psalm quotation, substituting *ἀνθρώπων* (“humans”) with *σοφῶν* (“the wise ones”)—the latter word occurring also in the preceding verse in the quotation from Job 5:13—claiming human wisdom to be futile. Thus, Paul appears to extend the interpretation of the quotation from Job by explaining it through the psalm text. Thematically, if the original literary context can be accounted for, common to both texts is the unreliability of human beings compared to the righteous judgement of God.

The last section of this chapter, 5.5, discussed four examples of individually occurring quotations from psalms in Paul’s writings. Paul typically quotes individual psalms by introducing them with the quotation formula “as it is written...” (Rom 8:36; 15:3; 2 Cor 4:13). In 1 Cor 10:26, the particle *γάρ* is inserted into the quoted words. In this context, although only lightly marked, the wording Paul uses does come from scripture, which he seems to hope will convince his audience about his argumentation.

Thematically, there are common themes among these four individually occurring quotations: as for the larger context of the quotations in Rom 8:36 and 2 Cor 4:13, both Rom 8:31–39 and 2 Cor 4:8–13 contain obstacle catalogues that serve as rhetorical devices to emphasize the virtues of the speaker—namely, Paul and his colleagues.⁶⁸⁴ In addition, both the quotations in Rom 8:36 and 1 Cor 15:25 bear Christological emphases, as the speaking subject is seen to be Christ. Furthermore, the quotations include several lamentation psalms where the psalmist uncharacteristically addresses God as the cause of the psalmist’s misfortune (esp. Ps 43[44]; cf. Ps 68[69]).⁶⁸⁵ Moreover, the quotations in 1 Cor 10:26 and Rom 15:3 follow passages where Paul deals with food regulations, with the quotation from Ps 23(24) in 1 Cor 10:26 supporting Paul’s liberal statement to “eat everything that is sold in the meat-market.”

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. similar obstacle catalogues in 2 Cor 6:4c–5; 11:23b–29; 12:10 (Furnish 1984, 280).

⁶⁸⁵ Similarly, Cranfield, (1975, 440), who mentions the connection between the passages in Rom 8:36, 1 Cor 15:30, and 2 Cor 4:11.

Additionally—in instances that were not examined here (Rom 11:8–10 quoting Deut 29:3, Isa 29:10 [v. 8] and Ps 68[69]:23–24 [vv. 9–10]; Rom 15:9–11 quoting Ps 17[18]:50 [v.9], Deut 32:43 [v. 10], Ps 116[117]:1 [v. 10], and Isa 11:10 [v. 12])—Paul provides parallels to the phenomenon of legal exegesis of scriptural texts other than the Pentateuchal books (attested to, for instance, in the Qumran *pesharim*), as he combines the Pentateuch or a prophetic text with a psalm text in two quotation pairs first introducing the quotation from psalms then amplifying its interpretation with another scriptural text. Notably, in Rom 15:9–11, the passage from Deuteronomy comes from the Song of Moses, a poetic text inserted into a prose narrative. The genre of Deut 32 may have encouraged Paul to use this text together with psalms, though he does combine the Pentateuch with psalms elsewhere.

In conclusion, the analysis of this chapter has shown that Paul combined quotations from psalms with quotations from different types of scriptural texts: the Pentateuchal books, prophetic texts, and other scriptural writings. Furthermore, the psalms themselves may also have functioned as a source for interpreting divine messages or ethical instructions—whether accompanied by another scriptural text or occurring as stand-alone quotations. This indicates that Paul considered the psalms to bear a similar authority as the other scriptural texts: just as the Pentateuchal books or prophetic or wisdom texts, also the psalms lend support to Paul’s arguments.

6 Wilderness Tradition in 1 Corinthians

10

This chapter⁶⁸⁶ deals with 1 Corinthians 10 where Paul alludes to historical psalms (Pss 77[78], 104[105], and 105[106]) to discuss Israel's idolatrous acts in spite of God's miracles in the wilderness. The historical psalms embody a complex part of my study on Paul's psalms allusions since they themselves allude to different narratives of the Pentateuch. In some cases, it is difficult to decipher whether Paul is referring to a particular psalm text or to the overall narrative attested in both the historical psalms and the Pentateuch. Hence, I do not claim that Paul alludes only to the historical psalms in this passage. Rather, it is likely that he alludes to the wilderness tradition without pinpointing any particular scriptural book. However, as I show below, Paul's wording lexically resembles the historical psalms rather than the Pentateuchal narrative in most allusions. Furthermore, I will argue for the Pauline origin of the composition of 1 Cor 10:1–10, which some previous studies have claimed pre-dates Paul.

6.1. The Sources of Paul's Allusions

In 1 Corinthians 10, Paul exhorts the recipients of his letter to avoid idolatry (v. 7), fornication (v. 8), testing Christ or the Lord (v. 9), and complaining (v. 10). These sins allude to the transgressions committed by the so-called wilderness generation, which was led by Moses on their way from Egypt to the promised land. Notably, Paul here addresses the mainly gentile audience of the congregation in Roman Corinth. In previous decades, many scholars have argued for a pre-Pauline origin of the

⁶⁸⁶ This chapter is based on an earlier article, for which see Pulkkinen 2019.

composition using the wilderness narrative in 1 Cor 10:1–10.⁶⁸⁷ I will first discuss the hypothesis of the origin of the passage. Next, I will analyze the possible sources of Paul’s depiction, as Paul’s vocabulary here draws on the wilderness narrative as attested in the Pentateuchal books (Exodus and Numbers) as well as in the historical psalms 77(78), 104(105), and 105(106).⁶⁸⁸

If Paul used a previously composed unit, was this composition of Jewish or Christian origin?⁶⁸⁹ If we presume that Paul used a fixed literary unit of Jewish origin, verse 9, in which Christ is mentioned, becomes problematic. Also, the unique expression “baptism into Moses” in verse 2 seems odd, since no parallels are attested in Jewish texts.⁶⁹⁰ On the other hand, if we presume that Paul used a pre-existing composition of Christian origin, what would the function of such a composition be? As noted in previous research, there is no Christological argumentation in the passage apart from verses 2 and 4. Furthermore, the themes of eating and drinking in verses 3–4 and 7 fit particularly well with the larger context of 1 Corinthians, which itself implies that the pericope was dictated by Paul with the context of this letter in mind. Therefore, I will first discuss how 1 Cor 10:1–10 relates to the larger context of 1 Corinthians before proceeding to analyze the passage itself.

⁶⁸⁷ Luz 1968, 117–123; Collier 1994, 72; Meeks 1982. Meeks does not explicitly state whether he considers the composition (for Meeks, verses 1–13) to be of pre-Pauline or Pauline origin, speaking instead of “Paul’s addition” (65) and of “Paul or his *Vorlage*” (68) and that “Paul himself has added” (69) parts and that “Paul or some anonymous predecessor constructed the homily” (71), hinting at Paul’s deliberate editorial agency alongside a pre-Pauline fixed composition.

⁶⁸⁸ The other historical psalms are Pss (MT) 114, 135, 136, 137. For the formation of these literary compositions, see, e.g., Klein 2014. Three historical psalms, Pss (MT) 78, 105, and 106, are attributed to Berrich and Gunkel’s (1933) classification. They include in this category also the narrative poems in Deut 32; Isa 63:7–64:11. In addition, Klein (2014, 4) notes that Exod 15, Deut 32 (as listed by Berrich and Gunkel, 1933, 323–325), Judg 5, Ezra 9, Neh 9, Dan 9, and 1 Chr 16:7–36 fulfill the criteria for historical psalms.

⁶⁸⁹ Thus Meeks 1982, 66. Collier (1994, 72) claims similarly that the “[...] pericope may have been independent of its present contexts, perhaps a Christian or pre-Christian homily of some sort.” He continues (73) by arguing that removing the Christian elements—namely, the mention of “baptism into Moses” in v. 2 and of Christ in v. 9—from the passage “[...] leaves an interesting 4 + 4 balanced pericope [...].” See also Fitzmyer 2008, 336.

⁶⁹⁰ Contra Lierman 2004, 175–187, though he does not give any *exact* parallels to Paul’s expression. For an argument defending the Pauline origin behind the mention of Christ in verse 2 and the Christian origin of the composition, see also Meeks 1982, 65–66.

6.2. The Corinthian Context of the Composition and the Source of the Allusions

Throughout his letter, Paul raises several issues that had led to conflicts in the Corinthian congregation: wisdom teaching and Paul's authority (chapters 1–4), sexual conduct (chapters 5–7), and food (chapters 8 and 10). In chapter 9, Paul defends his apostolic authority and, in chapters 11 and 14, he deals with the status of charismatic preachers. Finally, the question of resurrection is discussed in chapter 15.

In 1 Cor 10:1–10, Paul discusses practical food regulations.⁶⁹¹ He is concerned with the context in which idol meat is eaten: whereas, in 8:1–13 and 10:1–22, Paul criticizes the consumption of food sacrificed to idols at a pagan temple, the final passage (10:23–11:1) deals with the consumption of food in the private house of a pagan host, which Paul does not condemn.⁶⁹² In addition, surprisingly, Paul does not appear to condemn the consumption the food sold at the meat-market (1 Cor 10:25).

Of the three above-mentioned passages, the first (1 Cor 8:1–13) seems to hold the most liberal view: rejecting the spiritual legitimacy of “idols,” Paul concludes that it is irrelevant from a salvific perspective whether one eats or does not eat food offered to idols (v. 8: βρῶμα δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐ παραστήσει τῷ θεῷ· οὔτε ἐὰν μὴ φάγωμεν ὑστερούμεθα,

⁶⁹¹ Ehrensperger (2012, 114) divides the larger passage into three sections: 1) 1 Cor 8:1–13 and 10:14–22 deal with participation in public meals at a sanctuary; 2) 1 Cor 10:23–11:1 deals with meals held at the private house of a pagan host; 3) 1 Cor 11:17–34 deals with the communal table of Christ-followers. She does not discuss where the passage at hand (1 Cor 10:1–13) would belong in her classification since her focus is on table-fellowship. It is also worth noting that Paul does not explicitly say here whether he is concerned with the food itself or with the context in which it is sacrificed and consumed. Much attention has been paid to the sociohistorical situation of the city of Corinth in the Roman era, accessed through the archaeological remains of religious sanctuaries as well as literary sources, papyri, and inscriptions. For a survey of this material, see, e.g., Fotopoulos 2003, 49–157; 2006, 37–50; Willis 1985, 21–64.

⁶⁹² Witherington (1993, 240) argues that Paul differentiates the term *εἰδωλόθυτον* “food sacrificed to idols” (1 Cor 8:7, 10; 10:19) from *ἐρόθυτον* “something offered in sacrifice” (1 Cor 10:28), claiming that Paul is consistent in using these terms, thus prohibiting only the consumption of meat sacrificed to idols at the temple but not the meat itself. I do not, however, see a difference in Paul's attitude towards these terms, since in 1 Cor 10:28 Paul uses *ἐρόθυτον* (according to most reliable [inter alia P⁴⁶ & A B] textual witnesses) when imaging someone saying “This has been offered in sacrifice (*ἐρόθυτον*)” and denying its consumption. Hence, Paul uses both terms to denote something he rejects. Cf. Fotopoulos 2003, 23–25; see esp. 24, n. 13.

οὔτε ἐὰν φάγωμεν περισσεύομεν).⁶⁹³ He then gives another perspective on the consumption of food offered to idols in 1 Cor 10:1–22.⁶⁹⁴ This section can be divided into two parts: first, Paul’s views on dietary issues, which are embedded in scriptural references to the wilderness narrative (vv. 1–10); and second, his views on table fellowship (vv. 11–22). In 10:23–11:1, Paul returns to the more liberal view about the consumption of food offered to idols, though his instructions are not unambiguous.

Different approaches have been attempted to resolve the discrepancy between 1 Corinthians 8 and 10. Mitchell’s classic study maintains that Paul’s “[...] ‘inconsistency’ lies in his *rhetorical* strategy by which he agrees, as far as he possibly can, with the positions on both sides of the issues, so as to appease both and alienate neither, while at the same time calling all to reconciliation.”⁶⁹⁵ Some scholars advocate (different kinds of) partition theories, claiming that chapters 8 and 10 originally belonged to different units.⁶⁹⁶ These theories have been thoroughly refuted,⁶⁹⁷ so I will

⁶⁹³ Nevertheless, in v. 5, Paul seems to withdraw this claim, acknowledging the existence of other gods but affirming that, for Jesus-followers, only one God exists, though scholars disagree over exactly what views Paul expresses here on the existence of other gods. Barrett ([1968] 1971, 191) claims that “[...] Paul himself undoubtedly believed in the real existence of demonic beings, [...]” attributing this verse to the letter that the Corinthians had sent to Paul and which Paul here quotes. Barrett (192) concludes that “[...] Paul appears to express no definite opinion on the question; it would exaggerate in one direction to suppose that he denied the existence of beings neither truly God nor human, but it would exaggerate in the other direction if we were to take his *there are* to affirm the reality of the beings mentioned” (emphasis his). On demonic beliefs in the late Second Temple period, see Lichtenberger, Lange, and Römheld 2003 (eds.). See especially the contribution of Peter Lampe, where Lampe (2003, 587, 598) notes that demons were a part of beliefs of ancient Judaism as well, although demons were not venerated as gods, as in the pagan world. These differences appear to cause some ambivalence in Paul’s statements, forcing him to utter that the demons do not exist *as gods* (as gentiles may comprehend them). On the connection between Paul’s wording and the *Shema*, see, e.g., Waaler 2008, 358–362; Li-Tak Shen 2010, 62–64.

⁶⁹⁴ As mentioned above, many scholars argue that Paul does not deal with the same issue as he does in 1 Cor 8:1–13. Rather, he discusses attendance at temple rituals and not eating meat as such, which may explain the discrepancy between the passages. See, e.g., Mitchell 1991, 238: “Paul tried (perhaps unsuccessfully) to hold two balls in the air by allowing the eating of idol meats (unless in a particular situation it hurts the fellow Christian) but condemning idolatry” (238).

⁶⁹⁵ Mitchell 1991, 236. Emphasis and quotation marks hers.

⁶⁹⁶ Some scholars have claimed that, since there appears to be tensions between the three instances, they do not belong originally to the same letter but instead have been put together artificially much later. See, e.g., Weiss (1910) 1925, XL–XLIII; Schmithals (1956) 1969, 86–89, 215–217.

⁶⁹⁷ E.g., Barrett (1968) 1971, 15; Mitchell 1991 (throughout her study); Thiselton 2000, 36–41; Goulder 2001, 160–161.

treat the letter as a single whole and the passage 1 Cor 10:1–10 as occupying the place it has in the extant manuscripts.

In 1 Cor 10:7–10, Paul offers four different negative examples of the wilderness generation's history, urging the recipients of his letters not to become idolatrous (v. 7 *μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε*), not to fornicate (v. 8 *μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν*), not to put Christ (or in the HB/LXX allusions: the Lord)⁶⁹⁸ to the test (v. 9 *μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν*), and not to complain (v. 10 *μηδὲ γογγύζετε*). The first two instructions (viz., idolatry and fornication) are linked with what Paul has dealt with earlier in the letter: in chapters 5–7, sexual conduct (even though I shall later show that Paul does not refer to sexual behavior in 10:8) and idolatry.⁶⁹⁹ The last two instructions, on the other hand, connect with Paul's treatment in the letter of scripture and of the history of Israel's ancestors. Why should Israel's transgressions be relevant to the Corinthian audience? The letter itself reveals (e.g., 1 Cor 12:2) that the addressees comprise mainly gentile Jesus-followers.⁷⁰⁰ Do the gentile Corinthians identify themselves with the ancestors of Israel? Is Paul here addressing the so-called Judaizers, if indeed such a group existed? Or shall we call them Nomists? Is Paul targeting libertines elsewhere in the letter? ⁷⁰¹ Notably, Paul shifts the discussion from eating and drinking (vv. 3–4) to idolatry and fornication⁷⁰² (vv. 7–8), linking these themes together with an explicit

⁶⁹⁸ See the variant reading *κύριος* in κ B C P 33. 104. 326. 365. 1175. 2464. *sy^{hmg}* and *θεός* in A and 81.

⁶⁹⁹ See, e.g., Mithcell (1991, 225–226), who considers the whole section (5:1–11:1) as dealing with two topics: *πορνεία* and *εἰδωλόθυτον*.

⁷⁰⁰ As for the evidence of the Jewish community at Corinth apart from Acts 18:4–8, 17, Philo mentions that a Jewish colony existed in Roman Corinth (*Legat.* 281–282). In addition, in 1898, an inscription with the words “Synagogue of Hebrews” was found in Corinth and was dated to the mid-to-late second century CE, admittedly post-dating Paul's Corinthian correspondence. In sum, there is evidence of a Jewish community at Corinth, so it is possible that Paul would have begun his mission in Corinth with a Jewish community, but since he addresses the letter to gentiles, the (implied) audience appears to consist of gentile Jesus-followers.

⁷⁰¹ In chapters 5–6, Paul's opponents seem to be libertines, whereas, in chapter 7, Paul seems to tackle a view that is more ascetic in nature. Hence, it seems that Paul tries to negotiate between these two rival views in the congregation. Although Paul addresses the Corinthians by claiming that they belong to different “groups” (one belonging to Apollos, one to Cephas, one to Paul and one to Christ) in 1 Cor 1:12, many scholars (Conzelmann 1981, 51–53; Barrett [1968] 1971, 40–47) argue that Paul's opponents did not actually comprise different groups, rather that there was only one group of opponents.

⁷⁰² Goulder (2001, 116) translates *πορνεία* as “whoredom,” arguing that this term bears the meaning of “sexual deviance, without the necessary suggestion of payment.” Nevertheless, it is worth noting that

quotation from Exodus 32:6, the golden calf episode where eating and drinking are connected with idolatrous worship.

Paul anchors these condemnations on the wilderness tradition and the trespasses of the nation depicted in numerous instances in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Exod 16:2; 32:6; Num 11:4, 34; 14:2, 36; 16:11–35; 21:5; 25:1, 9; Neh 9:9–21; Pss 77[78]; 105[106]) as well as in other late Second Temple sources (e.g., 1 En. 90.18; Josephus *A.J.* 3.295–299; Philo, e.g., *Spec.* 4.129; CD A 6:3–11 par. 4QD^a (4Q266) 3 ii 10–11 par. 4Q^b (4Q267) 2 9–14 [Num 21:18]; 4QDibHam^a (4Q504 III (6) 6–7 [Exod 19:4]).⁷⁰³

6.3. Allusions to the Psalms in 1 Corinthians 10:1–10

The original textual context of Paul’s references is a source of debate: do they derive from the Pentateuch, from historical psalms, or from both? Furthermore, it has been suggested that the passage stems from a pre-Pauline composition.⁷⁰⁴ If so, has Paul modified that composition or copied it verbatim? What could have been the function of such a pre-Pauline composition?

I turn next to the actual text of the passage, concentrating on the scriptural background of Paul’s references to the wilderness narrative. In the table below, I place Paul’s wording alongside the psalm texts and the other references, mainly to Exodus and Numbers. The words or themes shared by Paul and the psalmic texts are underlined. The English translations are modified from NRSV and NETS.

πορνεία indeed probably derives from the verb *πέρνημι* “to sell.” For a detailed analysis on the lexeme, see Gaca 2003, and, particularly in the Corinthian context, see von Thaden 2017.

⁷⁰³ Lange and Weigold 2011.

⁷⁰⁴ See note 687 above. See also Fitzmyer 2008, 336.

6.3.1. Verse 1: Protection in the Cloud and the Sea

1 Cor 10:1

Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς
ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οἱ
πατέρες ἡμῶν πάντες
ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλῃν ἦσαν
καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς
θαλάσσης διήλθον

I do not want you to be
unaware, brothers and
sisters, that our
ancestors were all under
the cloud, and all passed
through the sea,

Ps 104(105):39

διεπέτασεν νεφέλῃν εἰς
σκέπην αὐτοῖς καὶ πῦρ
τοῦ φωτίσαι αὐτοῖς τὴν
νύκτα

He spread a cloud as a
covering [for them] and
fire to give light [for
them] during the night

Ps 77(78):14

καὶ ὠδήγησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν
νεφέλῃ ἡμέρας καὶ ὅλην
τὴν νύκτα ἐν φωτισμῷ
πυρός

And he led them in cloud
by day and all night long
with the light of fire.

Exod 13:21

ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡγεῖτο αὐτῶν
ἡμέρας μὲν ἐν στύλῳ
νεφέλης δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς τὴν
ὁδὸν τὴν δὲ νύκτα ἐν
στύλῳ πυρός

God was leading them,
by day by a pillar of
cloud to show them the
way, and during the night
in a pillar of fire.

Wis 19:7

ἡ τὴν παρεμβολὴν
σκιάζουσα νεφέλῃ ἐκ δὲ
προϋφεστῶτος ὕδατος
ξηρᾶς ἀνάδυσις γῆς
ἐθεωρήθη ἐξ ἐρυθρᾶς
θαλάσσης ὁδὸς
ἀνεμπόδιστος καὶ
χλοηφόρον πεδῖον ἐκ
κλύδωνος βιαίου

The cloud was seen
overshadowing the camp,
and dry land emerging
out of the Red Sea, and a
grassy plain out of the
violent surge

Cf. Exod 13:18; 14:19–
22; 15:22, 24–25; Num
10:34[LXX 26]; Neh
9:12

Table 6.1: Comparison of possible source texts in 1 Cor 10:1

In verse 1, Paul distorts the sequence of events: he first describes the miraculous cloud covering the nation in the desert and only then depicts the crossing of the sea.

However, according to the Exodus narrative and the historical psalms, God’s miraculous act is first to lead the nation through the Red Sea then to cover them with cloud as they pass into the wilderness of the Negev. This reversed order is attested elsewhere only in the wilderness narrative of the book Wisdom.⁷⁰⁵ However, Paul’s phrasing of “the cloud as a covering” is closer to the expression attested in the psalm. Paul further excludes the image of fire at night as a parallel expression to the covering of the cloud both in Exodus and in the psalm narrative.

According to the Exodus (13:21) narrative, the cloud went *before* the people as God led them in the pillar of cloud, whereas Paul describes the Israelites as going *under* the cloud. The incongruity between Exodus and Paul has been interpreted as reflecting Paul’s deliberate choice to describe the miracle from the point of view of Christian baptism.⁷⁰⁶ Nevertheless, I consider one possible solution to this change in formulation—from a leading cloud (Exodus) to an overhanging cloud—as relating to the wording of Ps 104(105):39, according to which the cloud functioned as a shadow for the Israelites. This strengthens the hypothesis that Paul had memorized the wording of Ps 104(105), not that of Exodus.⁷⁰⁷

6.3.2. Verse 2: Baptism into Moses

| | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 Cor 10:2 καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ | Ps 77(78):14; Ps 104(105):39 (See previous table) | Exod 13:21 (See previous table) Cf. Exod 13:18; 14:19– 22; 15:22, 24–25; Num 10:34[LXX 26]; Neh 9:12; Wis 19:7 |
| and all were baptized into Moses <u>in the cloud</u> and in the sea, | | |

Table 6.2: Comparison of possible source texts in 1 Cor 10:2

⁷⁰⁵ See the listed sources in table 6.1.

⁷⁰⁶ See, e.g., Klauck 1986, 252–253. The accompanying cloud is interpreted in several instances (e.g., Exod 13:21; Ps 105:39; 10:7; 19:17) in HB/LXX as signifying divine presence (Willis 1985, 129).

⁷⁰⁷ However, cf. the expression of an overhanging cloud in Num 10:34 (LXX 26: καὶ ἡ νεφέλη ἐγένετο σκιάζουσα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἐξαίρειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς), or overshadowing cloud in Wis 19:7 (ἡ τὴν παρεμβολὴν σκιάζουσα νεφέλη).

In verse 2, Paul uses a rare expression: baptism into Moses. This has been seen as a uniquely Pauline expression that finds parallels in the expression “baptized into Christ” in, for instance, Rom 6:3 and Gal 3:27.⁷⁰⁸ A parallel has also been seen in early Jewish practice, in which the convert baptized himself or herself.⁷⁰⁹ Still, Paul is not projecting Christ back onto the Exodus narrative and the events of the time of Moses. Rather, he presents Moses and Christ in parallel as deliverers.⁷¹⁰ For Karl-Gustav Sandelin, Paul, in his description of baptism in the cloud, might even have in mind the account of the spirit in Isa 63:14.⁷¹¹

As a more convincing Jewish parallel, Sandelin considers Philo’s *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*, 203–4.⁷¹² Sandelin concludes that it is probable that both Philo and Paul “were drawing upon the same tradition” since both associate the cloud with the sea.⁷¹³ Sandelin does not elaborate on his assumption that there was a single source tradition or in what medium this tradition would have been transmitted. It is possible, but cannot be proven conclusively, that these two separate literary sources tapped independently into a tradition shared by their writers. The parallel use of the image of the rock as a source of wisdom shows that Paul was not completely unique in his use of this metaphor but rather that similar ideas can be seen in the works of his contemporaries living in the diaspora.

⁷⁰⁸ Sandelin 1986, 166. There is also textual variation concerning the voice of the verb: whereas the NA²⁸ has the verb in passive voice (aorist), P^{46C} B K L P 1175 have the middle voice (aorist). P^{46*} has the middle voice (imperfect). Cf., e.g., Weiss (1910) 1925, 250; Barrett (1968) 1971, 220–221, who follow the variant reading in middle voice: “they accepted baptism into Moses,” since it was less common in Christian usage, thus explaining why it was changed in later MSS. For further discussion, see Thiselton 2000, 722. Mitchell (1991, 183, n. 436) adds also 1 Cor 1:13, 15 as parallels to this rare expression. In v. 13, Paul asks rhetorically whether Corinthians are baptized into Paul’s name and, in v. 15, explicitly answers this question in the negative.

⁷⁰⁹ Cf. Fee 1987, 444, n. 17; Bandstra 1971, 6. Lierman (2004, 277) argues that the figure of Moses in early Christianity was associated with Christ, representing the revealer of God to his people, which helped the new religion to identify itself as a monotheistic religion.

⁷¹⁰ Fee 1987, 445. Barrett ([1968] 1971, 221) cites the sources listed in Str-B I, 69 as evidence that Jews were accustomed to consider “the latter redeemer” (the Messiah) as a parallel to “the former redeemer” (Moses).

⁷¹¹ Sandelin 1986, 165–166.

⁷¹² Sandelin 1986, 107, 166.

⁷¹³ Sandelin 1986, 107.

6.3.3. Verses 3–4: Provision of Spiritual Food and Drink

1 Cor 10:3

καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ
πνευματικὸν βρῶμα
ἔφαγον

and all ate the same
spiritual food,

Ps 77(78):24

καὶ ἔβρεξεν αὐτοῖς μαννα
φαγεῖν καὶ ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ
ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς

and he rained down
manna for them to eat,
and heaven's bread he
gave them.

Exod 16:4

εἶπεν δὲ κύριος πρὸς
Μωυσήν ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὕω
ὕμιν ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐξελεύσεται
ὁ λαὸς καὶ συλλέξουσιν
τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν
ὅπως πειράσω αὐτοὺς εἰ
πορεύσονται τῷ νόμῳ μου
ἢ οὐ

Then the Lord said to
Moses, “Look, I am
going to rain bread from
heaven for you, and the
portion for a day so that
I might test them,
whether they will walk
by my law or not.”

Exod 16:35

οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἔφαγον
τὸ μαν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα
ἕως ἦλθον εἰς γῆν
οἰκουμένην τὸ μαν
ἐφάγοσαν ἕως
παρεγένοντο εἰς μέρος τῆς
Φοινίκης

Now the sons of Israel
ate mana (μαν) for forty
years until they came
into inhabited land. They
ate mana (μαν) until they
came near the region of
Phoenicia.

Cf. Neh 9:15; Deut 8:3

1 Cor 10:4

καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ
πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα.
ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ
πνευματικῆς

Ps 77(78):15

διέρρηξεν πέτραν ἐν
ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἐπότισεν
αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν ἀβύσσῳ
πολλῇ

Exod 17:6

ὁδε ἐγὼ ἔστηκα πρὸ τοῦ
σὲ ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐν
Χωρηβ καὶ πατάξεις τὴν
πέτραν καὶ ἐξελεύσεται

| | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, ἣ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός. and all drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank from the spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ. | He broke asunder a <u>rock</u> <u>in the wilderness and</u> <u>gave them drink</u> as from the bottomless depths. Ps 104[105]:41: διέρρηξεν πέτραν καὶ ἐρρύησαν ὕδατα ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν ἀνύδροις ποταμοί He split a <u>rock</u> , and waters gushed out; rivers ran in waterless terrain. | ἐξ αὐτῆς ὕδωρ καὶ πίνεται ὁ λαός μου ἐποίησεν δὲ Μωυσῆς οὕτως ἐναντίον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ I here have taken my stand, before you came, on the rock at Choreb. And you shall strike <u>the</u> <u>rock, and water will</u> <u>come out of it, and the</u> <u>people will drink.</u> Cf. Ps 113(114):8 ⁷¹⁴ Cf. Num 20:8, 10–11; Neh 9:15; Wis 11:4 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Table 6.3: Comparison of possible source texts in 1 Cor 10:3–4

Paul describes how everyone ate “spiritual food” (πνευματικὸν βρῶμα) and drank “spiritual drink” (πνευματικὸν [ἔπιον] πόμα) (vv. 3–4). There are several possible scriptural passages to which Paul might be referring here. Exodus 16:4 depicts the dialogue between God and Moses in which God says that he will let bread rain from heaven so as to test (πειράζω) his nation, “whether they will follow my [God’s] instructions” by gathering only a day’s portion of bread.⁷¹⁵ As for the psalmic references, both Ps 77(78) and 104(105) attest to the same wilderness miracle of bread and water. The latter psalm, however, bears fewer lexical links to Paul’s wording. Thus, I am more inclined to see Ps 77(78) behind 1 Corinthians 10:4.

As for vocabulary, neither the Pentateuchal nor the psalmic texts use the term “spiritual food” (πνευματικὸν βρῶμα) as does Paul. Instead, in these texts it is “bread from heaven” (ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, Ex 16:4) or the “bread of heaven” (ἄρτον

⁷¹⁴ Willis 1985, 128. Kreitzer (1993, 119) mentions this instance in his analysis of the term “flinty rock” observing that in the psalm both terms (ἀκρότομος, πέτρα) occur in a parallel expression synonymously.

⁷¹⁵ Notably, Paul uses the same verb or its cognates later in the passage. In verse 9, he warns his recipients not to test Christ as “some have tested and perished by the snakes.” In Paul’s case the people are testing God, not vice versa.

οὐρανοῦ, Ps 77[78]:24) that is provided to the Israelites. However, in context, there is no doubt that Paul is referring here to the miraculous nourishment in the desert. Paul appears to parallel the gracious act of God in the desert with Christ's salvation event. Ps 77(78):15 provides a closer narrative link than do Exodus or Numbers since the psalm narrates God's acts towards his nation in a third-person narrative similar to Paul, whereas in Exodus and Numbers, God enters into dialogue with Moses, after which Moses's action is depicted in third-person singular (cf. Exod 17:5, 6; Num 20:8, 9).

There is another parallel to Philo in verse 4, as he similarly uses the imagery of the rock in the wilderness. For Philo, the rock represents Wisdom among the Israelites who wander in the desert.⁷¹⁶ The question of whether Philo and Paul shared the same tradition is still debated.⁷¹⁷ As for the theme of wisdom, it is possible that Paul is here hinting at the possible opponents of Paul which are sometimes identified as wisdom teachers in Corinth.⁷¹⁸ As in other passages (e.g., 1:18–30; 2:4–7) in 1 Corinthians, Paul expresses his difficulties with those recipients who identify themselves with a wisdom tradition and who take liberties that scandalize other members of the congregation.⁷¹⁹

Furthermore, there is a similar depiction from Qumran, in Damascus Document 6:2–11: “The well which princes dug and the nobles of the people excavated, with a

⁷¹⁶ Barrett (1968) 1971, 222–223; Sandelin 1986, 96, 162; Kreitzer 1993, 114. Cf. *Leg.* 2.86; *Det.* 115–118. As Sandelin (1986, 96) points out, Philo describes wisdom in *Leg.* 2.86 as a power subordinate to God. In contrast, in *Mos.* 1.210, Philo handles the image of the rock in a literal sense.

⁷¹⁷ Thiselton (2000, 728), suggests that the “figure of Wisdom in guiding, protecting, and nurturing Israel through the wilderness is very widely attested in literature in Hellenistic Judaism [...], in contemporary synagogue homilies, and in Paul's near-contemporary Philo.” Cf. *Wis* 2:4.

⁷¹⁸ On thematic connections between Philo and Paul, see, e.g., Weiss (1910) 1925. For more recent studies, see, e.g., Winter, (1997) 2002.

⁷¹⁹ Even if there is a rather solid consensus that one (if not the central) source of conflict at Corinth was competing missionaries, over the last centuries of Pauline studies it has been disputed whether or not the real conflict can be deduced from Paul's letter. Furthermore, the content and background of the wisdom teaching has been debated: before the 1970s, it was claimed (cf., e.g., Barrett [1968] 1971, 228; Schmithals, [1956] 1969) to be “Gnostic.” After the emergence of a more nuanced understanding of Gnostic thought, connections were sought from Greek philosophy, such as Stoicism, as Gnostic groups did not emerge before the second century CE. Later, the scholarly trend turned to more socio-historical and rhetorical approaches. According to these perspectives, the conflict was based more on the gap between higher and lower social classes than on competing philosophical or theological ideas. For a brief survey of research, see, e.g., Brookins 2014, 8–13, who argues against a rhetorical approach to the problem.

ruler (Num. 21:18)—The ‘well’ is the Torah [...] and the ‘ruler’ is the expounder of the Law, of whom Isaiah said, ‘He takes out a tool for his work’ (Isa. 54:16).” Hence, the source of water appears to serve as a metaphor for the Torah more broadly in late Second Temple literature. As for the imagery of the following rock, Paul’s formulation of the rock as following or going with the Israelites through the wilderness has later Jewish parallels in rabbinic sources. The rock is interpreted as God’s presence among his people in these sources.⁷²⁰ Among Early Christian writers, the passage has been viewed as a reference to the Eucharist, to which Paul indeed returns explicitly in v. 16.⁷²¹

6.3.4. Verse 5: Destruction in the Wilderness

1 Cor 10:5

Ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός, κατεστρώθησαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

Nevertheless, God was not pleased with most of them, and they were struck down in the wilderness.

Ps 77(78):31

καὶ ὀργή τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέβη ἐπ’ αὐτούς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τοῖς πίοσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ συνεπόδισεν

God’s wrath also rose against them, and he killed from their sleek ones, and the select of Israel he shackled.

Num 14:16

παρὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι κύριον εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ὥμοσεν αὐτοῖς κατέστρωσεν αὐτούς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

Because the Lord was not able to bring this people into the land that he promised to them, he struck them down in the wilderness.

Num 14:29

ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ πεσεῖται τὰ κῶλα ὑμῶν καὶ πάντα ἡ ἐπισκοπή

⁷²⁰ See, e.g., Targum Onkelos Num 21:17; Midrash Sifre on Num 11:21; *b. Sabbath* 35a; and on “movable well”, see *b. Aboth* 5:6; *Midrash Numbers Rabbah* 19:25–26; *t. Sukka* 3:11; listed in Thiselton 2000, 727, n. 41. For a more detailed discussion of the formulation “following rock” as well as Paul’s explanation of the rock as Christ, see Thiselton 2000, 726–727. For the interpretive life of the following rock, see also Pseudo-Philo, *L.A.B.* 10:7; 11:5; 20:8 (cited in Swafford Works 2014, 62, n. 68; Fisk 2008, 118ff.)

⁷²¹ Fee 1987, 445.

ὕμῶν καὶ οἱ
κατηριθμημένοι ὑμῶν ἀπὸ
εἰκοσαετοῦς καὶ ἐπάνω
ὅσοι ἐγόγγυσαν ἐπ’ ἐμοί

In the wilderness shall
your limbs fall, even
your entire tally, and
those of you who number
from twenty years and
above, as many as
complained against me.

Cf. Judg 5

Table 6.4: Comparison of possible source texts in 1 Cor 10:5

After a positive description of how everyone ate “spiritual food” and drank “spiritual drink” (vv. 3–4), Paul turns to a negative example—God was not pleased with most of them (v. 5). Paul describes the reason for God’s dissatisfaction with and destruction of his nation in the wilderness as a general instruction or reminder (v. 6: τύπος; v. 11: τυπικῶς) to avoid desiring evil things (v. 6: κακός). The sin of idolatry seems to be manifested in eating and drinking (v. 7), with further sins listed in verses 8–10.

Verse 5 portrays a looser link to Psalm 77(78) since there is no shared vocabulary between Paul’s text and the psalms, only thematic connections. Instead, Num 14:16 provides the closer lexical parallel. The verb καταστρώννυμι “to strike down” is rather rare in LXX, occurring only 10 times, 8 of which are in the apocryphal books (2 Macc and Jdt). In the NT, the verb occurs only in this instance. Hence, in this case, the link to Num 14:16 is stronger than to the psalms.⁷²² In Paul’s passage, the verb is inflected in passive plural, while in Numbers God is the singular subject of the active verb. The passage alluded to concerns the (imagined) speech of the later generations who will (according to the complaining Israelites) mock the God of Israel

⁷²² Similarly, Baron and Oropeza (2016, 76) see v. 5 as alluding to Num 14:16. In Num 14:29–33, God punishes his people to spend 40 years in the wilderness in order that the older generation would die out so that the newer generation can enter the promised land. Paul uses the description of the wilderness generation and the 40 years’ time as a metaphor to signify “[...] the lifelong journey the Corinthians must take until Christ returns [...]” (76).

for leading them into the desert and letting them die. Nevertheless, Ps 77(78) does bring up the wilderness narrative, and the psalm text can be considered a (free) paraphrase of Numbers 14, even if the Pauline context finds a closer parallel in Num 14:16.

6.3.5. Verse 6: Desiring Evil

1 Cor 10:6

Ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν
ἐγενήθησαν, εἰς τὸ μὴ
εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς
κακῶν, καθὼς καὶ κεῖνοι
ἐπεθύμησαν.

Now these things
occurred as examples for
us, so that we might not
desire evil as they
desired.

Ps 105(106):14

καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν
ἐπιθυμίαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
καὶ ἐπείρασαν τὸν θεὸν ἐν
ἀνύδρῳ

And they desired with
desire in the wilderness
and put God to the test in
a waterless region

Num 11:4

καὶ ὁ ἐπίμικτος ὁ ἐν
αὐτοῖς ἐπεθύμησαν
ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ καθίσαντες
ἔκλαιον καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ
Ἰσραὴλ καὶ εἶπαν τίς
ἡμᾶς ψωμιεῖ κρέα
And the rabble among
them desired with desire,
and after they sat down,
they wept—also the sons
of Israel—and said,
“Who shall feed us with
meat?”

Num 11:34

καὶ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
τόπου ἐκείνου μνήματα
τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὅτι ἐκεῖ
ἔθαψαν τὸν λαὸν τὸν
ἐπιθυμητήν

And the name of that
place was called The
Tombs of Desiring,
because there they
buried the people that
desired.

Table 6.5: Comparison of possible source texts in 1 Cor 10:6

No consensus exists on which passages are alluded to in 1 Cor 10:6. The same use of the cognate object in *ἐπεθύμησαν ἐπιθυμίαν* (“they desired with desire”) is found in

both Num 11:4 and Ps 105(106):14. Collier suggests that the Pauline passage refers to Numbers.⁷²³ According to Barrett, the expression ἐπιθυμητής κακῶν in verse 6 is so common that it is elaborated on in the following verses in Paul’s passage: lusting after something that is forbidden leads to sexual lust, rebellion against God, and lusting after false gods.⁷²⁴ Similarly, the wording of Ps 105(106):14a generalizes craving or desiring, which suits the Pauline context well. Hence, rather than seeking for one textual connection behind Paul’s admonition in verse 6, all the traditions that depict a craving for food in the desert as well as those that depict further craving itself as a sin can be understood as being echoed in Paul’s description.

Paul seems to mean that, just as the people of Israel desired the meat-pots of Egypt while wandering in the wilderness and ended up worshipping the idol, so would the Corinthian members similarly progress from craving special foods (i.e., meat that might be consecrated to idols) to idol worship.⁷²⁵

6.3.6. Verse 7: “sat down to eat and drink and rose up to play” (Exod 32:6)

1 Cor 10:7

μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε
καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ
γέγραπται· ἐκάθισεν ὁ
λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν καὶ
ἀνέστησαν παίζειν.

Exod 32:6

καὶ ὀρθρίσας τῇ ἐπαύριον
ἀνεβίβασεν ὀλοκαυτώματα
καὶ προσήνεγκεν θυσίαν

⁷²³ Collier (1994, 57) claims that ἐπιθυμητής refers to “craving” rather than (sexual) lust. He further argues that the main text behind the Pauline expression is Num 11:4, 34, where the Israelites are depicted as craving the meat they were eating in Egypt (63–64). Similarly, Meeks (1982, 68) argues that “‘Craving evil things’ probably is suggested by Numbers 11:4. [...] The ‘mixed crowd’ craved flesh, remembering the abundant fish of Egypt.”

⁷²⁴ Barrett (1968) 1971, 224.

⁷²⁵ There are numerous articles and monographs written on the topic of idol food and the theme of eating in 1 Corinthians, a full discussion of which is beyond the scope of this study. See, e.g., Fotopoulos 2003; Smit 2000; Newton 1998; Willis 1985. Mitchell (1992, 138–140) argues that Paul is referring here to the Pentateuchal texts: she sees Num 11:33 as the text referenced in v. 6. Furthermore, Mitchell points out that Numbers 11 in its entirety plays on the root “to desire.” The great sin that Israelites committed was desiring meat (vv. 4 and 13). Interestingly, Philo connects the tenth commandment (οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, Exod 20:17 / Deut 5:21) to the sin depicted in Num. 11 in *Spec.* 4.129. Nevertheless, this does not prove that Paul must have had in mind the same source text as Philo.

Do not become idolaters
as some of them did; as it
is written, “The people sat
down to eat and drink and
rose up to play.”
(NRSV)

σωτηρίου καὶ ἐκάθισεν⁷²⁶ ὁ
λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ
ἀνέστησαν παίζειν

They rose early the next
day and offered burnt
offerings and brought
sacrifices of well-being;
and the people sat down to
eat and drink and rose up
to play.
(NETS, modified)

Table 6.6: Comparison of texts in 1 Cor 10:7

In verse 7, Paul explicitly quotes Exod 32:6. Paul’s exhortations culminate in his discussion of the idolatrous worship of the golden calf, which was followed by eating and drinking. The sin the nation commits is described in three (infinitive) verbs: (sitting down) to eat and to drink and (rising up) to play. The first two are clearly connected with what Paul had dealt with previously: eating and drinking. The third one, on the other hand, is more obscure: what does playing (παίζω) mean in this (viz., Exodus) context? The verb παίζω, while referring to literal playing and dancing, might carry sexual connotations in the context of idolatry, where it is used pejoratively.⁷²⁷ Since Paul quotes the golden calf narrative in a Corinthian context, is he suggesting that some sort of pagan cult was practiced in the city? Some scholars have even claimed that Paul might have argued against (or warned about) pagan mystery meals in 1 Cor 10:19–21.⁷²⁸ Nevertheless, I would be cautious about making any direct conclusions regarding the concrete situation of the congregation based on Paul’s pejorative—and in this case, quoted—statements, even though it seems that there were several religious cults in the city of Corinth.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁶ This word has been claimed by later rabbinic literature to be a code word (the so-called technique of *gēzērāh šāwāh*) for eating and drinking. See, e.g. Midrash *Tanhuma* 2.21 which connects Gen 37:25, Num 25:2, and Ex 32:6 on the basis of their shared vocabulary (כּוּשׁ, “to sit down”). Cf. Collier 1994, 70.

⁷²⁷ Meeks (1982, 69) argues, citing later Jewish sources (e.g., *t. Sotah* 6:6), that the verb could imply all of the sins listed in Paul’s passage: craving, idolatry, fornication, testing, and grumbling.

⁷²⁸ Klauck 1986, 264–272.

⁷²⁹ For studies assessing the cultural milieu in Roman Corinth, see note 691 above.

It is also worth noting that Paul refers to the golden calf episode in Rom 1:23. There, he clearly hints at sexual behavior, though it is not unambiguous what sort of sexual practice he is attacking. According to Meeks, the quotation is the only Pauline modification to what he presumes to be a pre-Pauline homily. The homily itself would have listed five sins: craving, idolatry, fornication, testing, and grumbling. The reason Paul added the quotation from Exod 32:6, according to Meeks, is to emphasize the topic at stake in chapters 8–10: idolatry. Verse 8 thus functions as an explanation of the verse quoted from Exodus.

6.3.7. Verse 8: *μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν*

1 Cor 10:8

μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν, καθὼς
τινες αὐτῶν ἐπόρνευσαν
καὶ ἔπεσαν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ
εἴκοσι τρεῖς χιλιάδες.

We must not fornicate,
as some of them have,
and **twenty-three**
thousand fell in a single
day.

(NRSV, modified)

Ps 105(106):39⁷³⁰

καὶ ἐμίανθη ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις
αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπόρνευσαν ἐν
τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτῶν

And it was defiled by
their acts, and they
fornicated in their
practices.

(NETS, modified)

Num 25:1–2, 9

καὶ κατέλυσεν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν
Σαττιν καὶ ἐβεβηλώθη ὁ
λαὸς ἐκπορνεῦσαι εἰς τὰς
θυγατέρας Μωαβ

2 καὶ ἐκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς
ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τῶν
εἰδώλων αὐτῶν καὶ
ἔφαγεν ὁ λαὸς τῶν
θυσιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ
προσεκύνησαν τοῖς
εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν [...]

9 καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ
τεθνηκότες ἐν τῇ πληγῇ
τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι
χιλιάδες

And Israel stayed in
Sattim, and the people
were profaned by
fornicating [NETS:
whoring] after the
daughters of Moab 2
And they invited them to
the sacrifices of their
idols, and the people ate

⁷³⁰ This reference is mentioned neither in the marginal notes of NA²⁸ nor, to my knowledge, in secondary literature; rather, it is my own addition, based on lexical correspondence.

of their sacrifices and
 did abeissance to their
 idols. 9 An those that
 died in the plague were
twenty-four thousand.

Cf. Num 26:62:⁷³¹

καὶ ἐγενήθησαν ἐξ
 ἐπισκέψεως αὐτῶν τρεῖς
καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδες πᾶν
 ἄρσενικὸν ἀπὸ μηνιαίου
 καὶ ἐπάνω [...]

And there were from
 their enrollment twenty-
three thousand, every
 male from a month old
 and above [...]

(NETS, modified)

Table 6.7: Comparison of possible source texts in 1 Cor 10:8

In verse 8, Paul pronounces an exhortation in the first person plural: “let us not *fornicate*” (μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν).⁷³² Paul appears to link idolatry with fornication (πορνεία / πορνεύω) in vv. 7–8: the recipients of the letter lust after false gods as they do after food, and lusting itself is seen as apostasy. The meaning of the word-group πορνεία / πορνεύω is somewhat obscure in this context, since Paul clearly relates it to idolatry and Israel’s infidelity to God, not to literal fornication.⁷³³ Since there are numerous

⁷³¹ In Num 25:1–2, both ἐκπορνεύω (with the daughters of Moab; v. 1) and eating (v. 2) are mentioned in the sense of idolatry (worshipping Baal Peor). In Num 25:9, the number of those killed by the plague is 24,000, compared to 23,000 in Paul. The census described in Num 26:62 gives 23,000 Israelites among the new generations (after the Baal Peor incident). On the question of the number of corpses, see, e.g., Fee 1987, 456. According to Fee, the event that Paul probably had in his mind was that related in Num 25:9. Barrett ([1969]) 1971, 225, suggests that Paul was thinking of the golden calf incident, whereafter 3,000 perished, which might have led Paul to the confused number of 23,000.

⁷³² For a discussion of the etymology of the word-group πορνεία / πορνεύω, see note 702 above.

⁷³³ Fee (1987, 455) suggests that Paul probably refers to sexual immorality, which he sees as the central issue in the Corinthian context (cf. 1 Cor 5:1–5, 10–11; 6:9–10, 12–20). Mitchell (1991, 233) claims that Paul links πορνεία with food—particularly idol meat—which, in her opinion, is shown in Paul’s “[...] proleptic reference to other topics of Corinthian debate [...]” and his use of the word πορνεία

examples of the metaphorical use of the word *πορνεύω* with the meaning of apostasy,⁷³⁴ I argue that Paul is not referring to sexual immorality in 1 Cor 10:8, as some scholars have claimed⁷³⁵ and the NRSV translation suggests (“We must not indulge in sexual immorality”), but, instead, that Paul is referring to idolatry.⁷³⁶

There are several possibilities for what could be referenced in the latter part of the verse. Some scholars argue that Paul is referring here to Numbers 25. In Num 25:1–2, both *ἐκπορνεύω* (with the daughters of Moab; v. 1) and eating (v. 2) are mentioned in connection to idolatry (worshipping Baal Peor). According to Fee, the event that Paul might have had in mind was Num 25:9, where the number of lives taken by the plague is 24,000, whereas Paul gives the figure 23,000. Paul’s numeration might have been influenced by Num 26:62, where the census of Israelites of the new generations (after the Baal Peor incident) tallies 23,000. Hence, Paul might have confused these two numbers, referring mistakenly to the result of the census, whereas he meant to hint at the number of lives taken by the plague.⁷³⁷

In addition to several possible references to the Pentateuchal narratives that mention fornication and the plague (or 23,000 people), thematic and lexical connections can also be observed between Paul’s wording and Ps 105(106):39, as both texts use the same lexeme *πορνεύω*. The previous verses of same psalm (vv. 36–38), which speak of gentiles who make idols and worship them, would also fit Paul’s argumentation, and hence the larger literary context appears to be inferred metaleptically through Paul’s wording. Furthermore, Paul refers to verse 14 of the

in 1 Cor 5:1–13; 6:12–20; 7:2. Thus also Thiselton (2000, 738), though he notes that the sexual implications of the pagan cults were associated with the pre-Roman period of the city of Corinth. He argues that “[t]he earlier Greek period was more responsible than the Roman for specifically sexual influences of pagan idolatry” (738).

⁷³⁴ Instances of this word-group occur 161 times in LXX, usually translating the Hebrew verb *זנה* ‘to be a harlot’ (translating the root *זדן* only in Deut 23:18), with *ἐκπορνεύω* translating its hiph form. The word is used metaphorically to describe Israel’s unfaithfulness to Yahweh in Isa 1:21; 57:7–13; Jer 2:20; 3:6; Ezek 16:17, 25–26; 23:3, 27; Hos 1–3; Mic 1:7. Cf. also Ps 73:27. In the Pentateuch and the so-called historical books, the metaphor occurs in Exod 34:16[15]; Lev 17:7; 20:5[6]; Num 14:33; Num 25:1; Deut 23:18; 31:16; Judg 2:17; 8:27; 2 Kgs 9:22; 1 Chr 5:25; 2 Chr 21:11, 13. The connection between idol-worship occurs also, e.g., in Wis 14:12. Cf. Hauck and Schulz (1968). The connection between idol-worship occurs also, e.g., in Wis 14:12.

⁷³⁵ Cf. e.g., Thiselton 2000, 719.

⁷³⁶ For further analysis of the semantic field of the word-group, see Gaca 1999; 2003.

⁷³⁷ Fee 1987, 456.

psalm earlier in the same passage (v. 6) when he prohibits his audience from desiring evil and, later, from complaining (v. 10). Thus, it is probable that the wording from the psalm (preferring *πορνεύω* over the more common form in the Pentateuchal narratives *ἐκπορνεύω*) influences the wording of his exhortative speech.

6.3.8. Verses 9–10: To Put to the Test and to Complain

1 Cor 10:9

μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν, καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπείρασαν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφρων ἀπώλλυντο.

We must not put Christ to the test, as some of them did, and were destroyed by snakes.
(NRSV)

Ps 77(78):18

καὶ ἐξεπείρασαν τὸν θεόν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν τοῦ αἰτῆσαι βρώματα ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν

And they tested God in their hearts by demanding food for their souls.
(NETS)
Cf. Ps 105(106):14

Exod 17:2

καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο ὁ λαὸς πρὸς Μωυσήν λέγοντες δὸς ἡμῖν ὕδωρ ἵνα πίωμεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Μωυσῆς τί λοιδορεῖσθέ μοι καὶ τί πειράζετε κύριον

And the people were railing against Moses, saying, “Give us water so that we may drink!” And Moses said to them, “Why are you railing at me, and why are you testing the Lord?”

Exod 17:7

καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου πειρασμός καὶ λοιδορήσις διὰ τὴν λοιδορίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ διὰ τὸ πειράζειν κύριον λέγοντας εἰ ἔστιν κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν ἢ οὐ

And he called the name of that place Testing and Raillery because of the railing of the sons of Israel and because they tested the Lord, saying,

| | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | <p>“Is the Lord among us or not?”</p> <p>Num 21:6 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν κύριος εἰς τὸν λαόν <u>τοὺς ὄφεις</u> τοὺς θανατοῦντας καὶ ἔδακνον τὸν λαόν [...]</p> <p>And the Lord sent among the people deadly <u>snakes</u>, and they would bite the people [...]</p> |
| <p>1 Cor 10:10 μηδὲ <u>γογγύζετε</u>, καθάπερ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐγόγγυσαν καὶ ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ.</p> <p>And do not <u>complain</u> as some of them did and were destroyed by the destroyer. (NRSV)</p> | <p>Ps 105(106):25 καὶ <u>ἐγόγγυσαν</u> ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου</p> <p><u>And they complained</u> in their coverts; they did not listen to the voice of the Lord. (NETS, modified)</p> | <p>Exod 16:2 <u>διεγόγγυζεν</u> πᾶσα συναγωγὴ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ Μωυσῆν καὶ Ἀαρών</p> <p>And the entire congregation of the sons of Israel <u>was complaining</u> against Moses and Aaron</p> <p>Exod 17:3 ἐδίψησεν δὲ ἐκεῖ ὁ λαὸς ὕδατι καὶ <u>ἐγόγγυζεν</u> ἐκεῖ ὁ λαὸς πρὸς Μωυσῆν [...]</p> <p>But the people thirsted there for water, and the people <u>kept complaining</u> against Moses [...]</p> <p>Cf. Exod 16:7–9, 12; Num 11:1; 14:2, 29, 32–36</p> |

Table 6.8: Comparison of possible source texts in 1 Cor 10:9

The verb ἐκπειράζω in verse 9 functions as an identifier of the reference text, as the same verb is used in Ps 77(78):18 as a predicate with the infinitive form τοῦ αἰτῆσαι + βρώματα. The same verb also occurs also in Exod 17:2 without a prefix (πειράζω)

but in the form of a question by Moses: “Why [...] are you testing the Lord?” In Exod 17:7, the verb is used as an infinitive, which does not correspond to Paul’s use. Lastly, the verb occurs in Num 14:22, but the narration there is in first person singular from the point of view of God. Thus, the grammatical structure of Ps 77(78) resembles Paul’s formulation most closely. Furthermore, the later context of the psalm—namely verses 18–25—expands on the theme of complaining, which Paul likewise continues in 1 Corinthians 10,⁷³⁸ something that is not paralleled in such compact form by the Pentateuchal versions of the story.⁷³⁹

6.4. Discussion: The Function of the Wilderness Narrative in the Corinthian Context

1 Cor 10:1–10 is a concise passage of biblical references that depicts the transgressions of Israel’s ancestors. But why were they chosen as examples to admonish the mainly gentile recipients of Paul’s letter? Were the recipients capable of comprehending and identifying with the history of Israel’s ancestors? The use of the wilderness narrative in a Corinthian context may indicate that Paul saw parallels between the Corinthians and the enslaved Israelites in Egypt. As God led his people out of Egypt with the help of Moses, so would Christ—perhaps with the help of Paul—deliver his followers from the pagan world.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁸ Note that the verb γογγύζω occurs also in several instances in wilderness traditions—e.g., Exod 16:7; 17:3; Num 11:1; 14:27, 29; 16:41; 17:5—as noted by Meeks (1982, 68).

⁷³⁹ Cf. Klein (2014, 91), who describes the complaint of the nation in Ps 77(78) as a perverted confession of trust in Yahweh (“Eine Pervertierung des Vertrauensbekenntnisses”) based on Ps 23:5. According to Klein, this suggests literary dependence on Ps 23.

⁷⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Paul does not use the same metaphorical vocabulary of slavery in his correspondence with the Corinthians as he does in his letter to the Romans. The word-group -δουλ- is used with a more concrete meaning in 1 Cor than in Paul’s letter to the Romans, occurring in 1 Cor 7:15 (οὐ δεδούλωται ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις), 21, 22 (bis); 9:19, 27; 12:13. Each time, the word-group is used as a negative metaphor, drawing on concrete slave imagery. Such slavery, Paul warns, should be avoided, should one intend to worship God properly. In none of these cases does Paul refer to the slavery of sin (Rom 6:6, 16, 17, 18, 20), death (Rom 6:16: δοῦλοί ἐστε ᾧ ὑπακούετε, ἤτοι ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον ἢ ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην), impurity and iniquity (Rom 6:19), law (7:25), or decay (Rom 8:21), as he does in Romans.

According to Hays, Paul alludes to the wilderness generation to remind the Corinthians that they are not immune to God's judgment: "[...] just as Israel in the wilderness was tempted to worship the golden calf, so the Corinthians are tempted to participate in pagan temple feasts."⁷⁴¹ In Num 14:29–33, God punished the Israelites to spend 40 years wandering in the wilderness in order that the older generation would die off and the newer generation could enter the promised land. An alternative theory is that Paul here assimilates the gracious acts of God in the desert with the sacraments of the early church: the protection of the cloud in the desert as well as the crossing of the water are compared to baptism, and the miraculous nourishment of manna to the Eucharist.⁷⁴² In doing so, Paul makes the Israelites' enslavement and delivery relatable to the members of the Corinthian congregation, even though most of them are non-Jewish: similar to how the Israelites were delivered from slavery, the former gentiles would be delivered from the pagan world. One of the driving reasons for Paul to reference the wilderness narrative is to invite his Corinthian audience to internalize the history of Israel and the scriptural narrative as a part of their own mythology. According to Barrett, Paul considered the gentile members of the congregation so "integrated into the people of God that they shared with Jews a common ancestry."⁷⁴³ Paul would thus see no discrepancy in incorporating the exodus narrative of the Israelites with his address to a mainly gentile audience.

Who then is the target of Paul's accusations in 1 Corinthians 10:1–10? Throughout the larger part of the letter, Paul identifies his recipients as "those who have knowledge" (8:1, 7, 10) as opposed to "the weak ones" (8:9, 11) and those "whose conscience is weak" (8:7, 10, 12 + 9:22). The latter refers to those who consider the consumption of idol food as an act of pollution and the former to those who thought they possessed knowledge that allowed them to eat whatever they wished.⁷⁴⁴ Paul uses a similar dichotomy of the strong and the weak in his later work,

⁷⁴¹ Hays 1989, 97–98.

⁷⁴² Cf. Thiselton (2000, 724–725). See also Proctor 2015, 79.

⁷⁴³ Barrett (1968) 1971, 220. Barrett (220) further speculates whether Paul might have been quoting verbatim from an existing Exodus midrash.

⁷⁴⁴ This characterization of the dichotomy is somewhat reductive. For a summary of previous research on the issue, see, e.g., Fotopoulos 2003, 1–45. Meeks (1982, 73) characterizes the strong as proud in their knowledge, power, and freedom, and the weak as "accustomed to associate the eating of

his letter to the Romans. Scholars, however, dispute whether this dichotomy can really be transferred to the letters to the Corinthians. Namely, in addition to the differences in terminology, in Romans, the “weak” is used to denote those that follow Jewish tradition (food regulations and Sabbath), whereas the “strong” is used to denote those who do not follow these regulations anymore or do not demand that gentile Christians follow these regulations.

In the letter to the Corinthians, however, the “strong”—according to some interpreters—is used to denote those who thought that, since they possessed knowledge (cf. 1 Cor 8:10), they would be permitted to eat whatever they wanted, whereas the “weak” is used in reference to those who did not possess such knowledge. Gerd Theissen claims that socio-economic factors dictated the position of members in the congregation: “the strong” were those who occupied a prominent socio-economic position, and hence were able to consume meat, whereas “the weak” were those who occupied the lower classes.⁷⁴⁵ Wayne Meeks has criticized this view, however, arguing that, in antiquity, social status was highly flexible and did not necessarily correspond to economic stance.⁷⁴⁶ John Fotopoulos has similarly criticized Theissen’s claim, since there were inexpensive options for meat consumption in ancient Corinth and, furthermore, idol food did not consist solely of meat.⁷⁴⁷

Is the problem for Paul, then, that the “knowledgeable” members of gentile background attended temples and pagan rituals? Or is the problem those who possessed a “weak” conscience and did have knowledge? In my view, it is the former, the “knowledgeable” ones whom Paul attacks and whom he addresses with his reference to the wilderness tradition. As to why the sins of the wilderness generation—the sins of Israel—should concern these former gentiles, I argue that Paul parallels the enslaved and delivered Israelites in Egypt with the Corinthian congregation. Just as the Israelites craved food in the desert, those who clamor for idol meat are in danger of crossing over into idolatry by neglecting the weak conscience of their fellow-believers.

meat with participation in the cults of pagan gods.” Furthermore, according to Meeks (73), Paul primarily addresses the strong.

⁷⁴⁵ Theissen (1975) 1982, 121–143.

⁷⁴⁶ Meeks 1983, 53–54, 70–73.

⁷⁴⁷ Fotopoulos 2003, 13–14.

6.5. Conclusions on the Use of the Psalms in 1 Corinthians 10

As for the origin of the composition, I argue that Paul himself is responsible for compiling the passage 1 Cor 10:1–10, which draws on and recontextualizes the wilderness narrative recounted in numerous places, both in the HB/LXX and late Second Temple sources. I find the suggestions that Paul might have used either Jewish or Christian pre-existing compositions to form this passage unconvincing.

The passage in 1 Corinthians reveals that the psalmic and poetic material was used in an educational context, since it appears that Paul uses these psalms as part of his homiletic teaching, the psalms functioning as source material for investigating religious history.⁷⁴⁸ Furthermore, the historical psalms' (77[78]; 104[105]; 105[106]) reinterpretation of the wilderness narrative, using the story to instruct the present generation, suits Paul well. Notably, the past transgressions of Israel's fathers are also narrated as instructions (ὁ νόμος, v. 1) to the present generation in Ps 77(78):1–2.⁷⁴⁹ Furthermore, Paul's depiction of the bad examples of the ancestors in 1 Cor 10:1 begins similarly to Ps 77(78):3: οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν "our fathers." The same retrospective view can be seen in Ps 105(106).⁷⁵⁰

These patterns show that Paul was influenced by Pss 77(78), 104(105), and 105(106), which themselves conflate the narratives of the Pentateuchal books, particularly those of Exodus and Numbers.⁷⁵¹ Paul takes the lexical and thematic elements that allude to the wilderness tradition from different sources but does not bind any of them to any specific scriptural book. Rather, he was influenced by different depictions of the wilderness narrative, and the depiction attested in psalms appears to be the most prevalent form of the narrative for 1 Cor 10. However, the manner in which Paul's references are linked to the suggested anterior texts also differs: some references provide stronger examples of lexical links (e.g., vv. 1 and 4, referring to Ps 104[105]), whereas other connections are weaker in this respect. The latter are

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. Pajunen 2019. See especially Klein 2017, 321–324, 326–331.

⁷⁴⁹ Klein 2017, 322.

⁷⁵⁰ Klein 2017, 327. See also Willis 1985, 128.

⁷⁵¹ Interestingly, Collier (1994, 72, n. 55) observes that, e.g., Exod 16 and Num 11 are conflated in Ps 78. Nevertheless, he understands 1 Cor 10:1–13 as reflecting "the confessional tradition of these Psalms [Pss 78; 106] more than their specific features."

nevertheless identifiable, albeit on the basis of thematic rather than lexical correspondence (e.g., v. 5, referring to Ps 77[78]).⁷⁵²

Nevertheless, it is not always clear whether Paul's references are to the Pentateuchal narrative, the historical psalms, or to both. It has been suggested that Paul's explicit quotation of Exod 32:6 in 1 Cor 10:7 would support the view that Paul alludes to the Pentateuchal books—especially to Numbers—through the entire passage.⁷⁵³ Furthermore, since Paul refers to Deuteronomy twice in the nearby context—namely to the Song of Moses (in v. 20 to Deut 32:17 and in v. 22 to 32:21)—some have seen this as further evidence in favour of the Pentateuchal background of these references.⁷⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Paul's explicit use of Exodus and Deuteronomy does not provide strong support for the claim that he is referring to *another* Pentateuchal book, namely, to Numbers throughout the passage. Furthermore, even if Deuteronomy 32 belongs to the Pentateuchal books, it is worth noting that its literary genre represents a poem or song. In addition, some scholars have noted that Paul's description of the wilderness narrative is similar to the speech in Neh 9:5–37.⁷⁵⁵ It is thus plausible that Paul used multiple different psalms in 1 Cor 10 as well as songs embedded in prose texts.⁷⁵⁶

Paul's exegesis in 1 Cor 10 provides an example of how the psalms were used at the turn of the Common Era. His use of Pss 77(78), 104(105), and 105(106) to instruct his recipients on the right way to live, arguing from a theological perspective, actualizes the wilderness narrative: the transgressions of Israel's ancestors and their subsequent punishment serve as a warning to the present generation of Roman Corinth. Paul's use of psalms is in line with other late Second Temple sources, which use psalms as base texts for interpreting divine messages, such as the pesharim found in Qumran (e.g., 4Q171; 4Q173; 4Q177).⁷⁵⁷ Not only do the Pentateuchal depictions of the wilderness tradition but also their actualization in the psalms serve as historical

⁷⁵² Swafford Works (2014, 67) notes that the re-narration of the exodus in Ps 77(78) and by Paul overlap in several cases. She points out that this makes it plausible that Paul is influenced by the psalm, though this connection cannot be absolutely proven (67).

⁷⁵³ Collier 1994, 65.

⁷⁵⁴ Meeks 1982, 72.

⁷⁵⁵ See, e.g., Fee 1987, 442; Smit 2000, 130; Meeks 1982, 66.

⁷⁵⁶ See also 4QDeut^a, which attests to Deut 32 as a sole text block.

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. Høgenhaven 2017.

sources for Paul. As the use of texts other than the Torah (non-Pentateuchal scripture) for legal exegesis did not become established practice until the rabbinic era, it is curious that non-Pentateuchal texts were used in this manner already in the late Second Temple period. Paul's example in 1 Cor 10, in which he refers to both the Pentateuchal texts (explicitly in v. 7) and the historical psalms, appears to have been adopted by later Christian writers.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁸ Brooke 2011, 23. See also Jassen (2014, 248), who analyses the texts from Qumran comparing the legal exegesis of these texts (Damascus Document; Rule of the Community [1QS], 4QHalakha B on Isa 58:13 as well as legal exegesis on Jer 17:21–22 in 4QHalakha A and 4QMiscellaneous Rules) to later rabbinic *halakhah*. Jassen (250) concludes that “[c]ommunities engaged in creative exegesis are rarely limited by the seemingly narrow contents of scriptural texts. Thus non-Pentateuchal scriptural passages with very little legal content can very easily be exegetically finessed for the larger legal-exegetical purpose.”

7. Psalmic Allusions in Romans 1

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will focus on allusions to psalms in Romans 1, which are most frequent in Rom 1:16–24, though Paul refers to other scriptural texts as well. The allusions to psalms in this passage are at times vague, so there are also allusions that simply share vocabulary and themes with certain psalms. In previous studies, this type of allusive language has been termed “echoes” denoting the effect that the allusive language has on the *reader* without making claims of (conscious) authorial intent.⁷⁵⁹ Since the occurrence of psalmic expression may or may not have been consciously intended by Paul, I will distinguish between these two possibilities. When allusions to the psalms seem to be intended by Paul, I will speak about *textual interplay* or *textual connection*, and in cases where Paul’s intention cannot be proven, I will speak about *shared vocabulary with psalms*, if reference to any psalm can be demonstrated with certainty.

The starting point for Paul’s theological discussion in the letter is the tension between the worship of false gods (i.e., idolatry) and that of the true God. In Rom 1:19–26, Paul describes those whom “God has given over into the lusts of their hearts” (Rom 1:24). Who are the people indicated in this passage? Were they Jews or gentiles?⁷⁶⁰ In the Jewish sources that could have been at Paul’s disposal, Jews are described as non-idolaters, gentiles as idolaters.⁷⁶¹ In Romans, however, Paul appears to turn this description on its head.

⁷⁵⁹ Hays 1989, as well as a vast number of studies that follow his terminology.

⁷⁶⁰ It is possible that the people indicated in the passage are not reducible to the addressee or even the implied audience of the letter. However, Paul states in the opening (vv. 1–16, esp. vv. 5, 13–14) of the letter to the Romans that he is addressing gentiles.

⁷⁶¹ Using the gentiles as instructive negative examples is not unfamiliar to Jewish apologetic writing: Wis 13–15 (see esp. Wis 13:1–9: the gentile refusal to accept the one true God based on the evidence of his creation; *Sib. Or.* 3:15–23; frgs. 1:3–17, 32–35; 3:3–14); *Sib. Or.* 3:8–45 (also 3:184–187, 594–600,

This issue raises two further sub-questions: *about whom* is Paul talking and *to whom*—namely, who is the implied audience? These questions are, of course, related to one another. Furthermore, the question of the referent of Paul’s accusations is not necessarily connected to the question of the audience of the letter. Close examination of the scriptural allusions of Rom 1:16–24—the opening of the theme of the entire letter—will, at any rate, shed light on the question of the implied audience of Romans. In what follows, I will argue that the implied audience consists of a mixed congregation, and, in some cases, Paul was addressing Jews in particular and, in other cases, gentiles. Furthermore, I argue that, concerning the given passage, Paul did not distinguish between two ethnic groups, instead intends to describe the sins of *others*.

Hence, for the purposes to this study, it will not be relevant to discuss a topic that has dominated recent scholarship on this passage—namely, what kind of socio-ethical behavior does Paul address in chapter 1 of the letter?⁷⁶² Further, I will not concern myself with discussing what Greco-Roman cultural atmosphere or sexual norms prevailed in that cultural milieu.⁷⁶³

764); frgs. 1–3. See also Philo, *Leg.* 3.36; *Abr.* 135–136; *Spec.* 3.37–42; *Contempl.* 59–62. For polytheism as an instructive negative example, see *Spec.* 1.331 (οὗτοι δ’ εἰσὶν οἱ συμβολικῶς ἐκ πόρνῃς ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου προσαγορευόμενοι). See Tobin (2004, 109) for further sources. See also, e.g., Linebaugh (2013), who investigates how Paul invokes the dualistic anthropology of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, which denounces gentiles as idolaters and describes Israel’s innocence (Wis 15:4). Paul does not, however, adopt this view, viewing both as idolaters. See esp., Linebaugh 2013, 96: “*Textual dependence* serves the rhetorical function of establishing *theological difference*. Whereas *Wisdom*’s polemic serves to reinforce the anthropological distinction between Jew and Gentile (qua non-idolaters and idolaters), Paul reworks the aniconic tradition to establish the essential unity of humanity: *homo peccator*” (emphasis his).

⁷⁶² More specifically, the passage has been a locus for discussion both in the academic world and among certain societal milieux on the topic of sexual minorities (and later also of gender minorities.) For further discussion of this topic, see (in chronological order), e.g., Boswell 1981; Scroggs 1983; Hays 1986; Becker 1987; Halperin 1990; Holter 1993; Nissinen (1994) 1998; Miller 1995; Broton 1996; Stowasser 1997; Swancutt 2003; Debel 2009; Townsley 2011; Marchal 2012.

⁷⁶³ For studies arguing that Paul’s accusations of vicious life in this passage derive from his conviction that Jewish authors perceived the socio-ethical behavior of Roman society as depraved, see Thiessen 2016, 47–52; Thiselton (2000, 722–723) mentions in passing that Rom 1:18–32 represents language drawn from “anti-Gentile synagogue homilies.” Some commentators (Fitzmyer 1992, 275) have suggested that, because Paul dictated the Letter to the Romans from Corinth, the city’s “immoral atmosphere” would have influenced the way he described “gentile vices.”

Traditionally, Rom 1:18–31 has been read as referring to gentiles.⁷⁶⁴ However, considering the scriptural allusions—especially if their metaleptical aspects are taken into account—Paul most likely also had Jews in mind as the implied audience of this passage.⁷⁶⁵ To me, it is implausible that Paul would have depicted only gentile behavior here, not even pejoratively or because he was addressing actual conflicts of ethical behavior. Rather, Paul likely addresses both Jewish and gentile Christians in the whole of Rom 1:18–31. I turn now to an exploration of how the scriptural allusions

⁷⁶⁴ Thus Fitzmyer (1992, 270–271), who concludes that, even though Paul refers to Ps 106:20 and Jer 2:11, in which the sins described are particularly those of Jewish people, it does not mean that Paul would have envisaged Jewish sins in vv. 18–32 as well. I disagree with Fitzmyer, though I must admit that, in some cases—for instance, in Rom 3:10–17—Paul does depart from the literary context of the quotations of the psalms. For a detailed analysis of the given passage, see chapter 4 of the study at hand. Jewett (2007, 152) seems to hold the same view despite his argument that, in v. 18, ἐπὶ πάντας implies the inclusion of Jews among whom Paul regards as impious. Jewett (152, n. 36) notes that “these details appear to be overlooked by commentators who construe 1:18–32 as a denunciation of pagans.” Jewett (2007, 160–162) further notes that Paul includes idolatrous Jews at least through the scriptural allusions of v. 23. He also refers to Cranfield (1975, 106), whom he considers to come “closer to the goal of Paul’s argument” in arguing that these verses reveal “the gospel’s judgment of all men, which lays bare not only the idolatry of ancient and modern paganism but also the idolatry ensconced in Israel, in the Church and in the life of each believer.” Cranfield (104), in my opinion, rightly concludes that the description of all human sinfulness is summed up in Rom 3:10, 23, but he (105) nevertheless maintains that Paul had primarily gentiles in mind when he wrote this. Thiessen (2016, 43–44) similarly advocates the interpretation that Paul addresses Gentile recipients but emphasizes that they are so-called “Judaizing Gentiles.” Thiessen (44) argues that “Paul’s attack, therefore, is not against Judaism as a religion or the Jewish law in itself; rather, he attacks the practice of gentile judaizing and the belief that gentiles can become Jews through observance of the Jewish law.” Furthermore, he (44) concludes that, even if Paul uses several scriptural quotations and allusions and seems to assume that his audience would be familiar with Jewish law, “[...] evidence within Romans [Rom 1:5] indicates that he predominantly, if not exclusively, intends to address gentiles throughout his letter.”

⁷⁶⁵ Similarly, Räisänen ([1983] 1987, 97–98) admits that 1:18–2:8 could be understood as concerning Jews. He notes that, on the basis of the allusion to Ps 105(106):20, with which Paul refers to the golden calf—a sin of the Jews, not the gentiles—he is clearly addressing Jews. Nevertheless, Räisänen writes, it cannot be said for certain whether Ps 105(106) is cited with the intent of bringing the golden calf to the reader’s mind. Namely, Paul omits the word μόσχος, which would have made the allusion to the calf clearer. Further, it is presupposed in Rom 3:9, according to Räisänen (97–98 n. 23), that “Paul has made a charge against the Greek as well as against the Jew earlier in the letter, and this can only refer to ch. 1.” Jervell (1960, 318) sees Rom 2:14–16 as such a charge. Räisänen seems to be inconsistent, however, later claiming (98) that “Paul [...] brands the Gentile world wholesale as a *massa perditionis*—they are lumped together as idolaters and homosexuals, of which the list of vices in v. 29–31 is characteristic.” Räisänen seems inclined to think that 1:18–31 refers to gentiles.

here can be identified and how their identification affects the interpretation of the passage.

7.1.1. Psalm 118(119) in Romans 1:16

Verse 16 has been described as a turn in the whole of Romans—this is where Paul launches into the main topic of the rest of the letter.⁷⁶⁶ In verse 16, Paul, based on both lexical and—as I would suggest—functional considerations, alludes to Ps 118(119):46:

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| Rom 1:16 | <u>Ὁὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι</u> τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι. <u>For I am not ashamed</u> of the gospel; it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek. (NRSV) |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

| | |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ps 118(119):46 | καὶ ἐλάλουν ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις σου ἐναντίον βασιλέων καὶ <u>οὐκ ἡσυχνόμην</u> And I would speak of your testimonies before kings, and <u>I was not ashamed</u> . (NETS) |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Lexical correspondence between the psalm and Paul is based on their common use of the verb αἰσχύνομαι “to be ashamed, to be put to shame,” which occurs in Rom 1:16 with the prefix ἐπί, (ἐπαισχύνομαι) which is a deponent verb. Since Paul adds an object to the verb, the gospel, he understood the verb transitively: “I am not ashamed of the gospel.” Even if the lexical correspondence is not exact, the two verbs, with or without the prefix, are interchangeable.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁶ Dunn 1988, 46; Fitzmyer 1992, 254–255 observes that in verse 16 Paul announces a theme, which he develops until the end of chapter 11. This happens in three parts: 1) in section Rom 1:16–3:20, Paul describes humanity without the gospel (both the gentiles and the Jews); 2) in section 3:21–31, he illustrates the situation positively from the point of view of already accomplished righteousness which is not dependent on the law but still has to be witnessed through scripture (also in Rom 1:1–2); and 3) in section 4:1–25, Abraham was not justified by his deeds, but by his faith.

⁷⁶⁷ Bultmann (1964, 189–191) writes that αἰσχύνομαι is “fully interchangeable with ἐπαισχύνομαι and esp. καταισχύνω” (189) both in classical Greek and in LXX and NT. According to Bultmann (189), it is often unclear whether the verb form αἰσχύνομαι should be understood intransitively (“to be put to shame”) or transitively (“to be ashamed”). He (190) concludes, at any rate, that it is usually used intransitively. Therefore, the lexical connection between Paul and the psalms appears to be rather strong,

The verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* occurs in LXX only three times (Job 34:19; Ps 118[119]:6; Isa 1:29), whereas *αἰσχύνομαι* is more common, occurring 94 times in LXX (including apocryphal books).⁷⁶⁸ The word *αἰσχύνομαι* occurs in the LXX Psalms 18 times, mostly in the subjunctive, optative, or imperative moods: the psalmist asks God to put to shame those who seek the speaker's life (Ps 34:4), who rejoice at the speaker's distress (Ps 34:26), who are adversaries of his life (Ps 71:13), who are arrogant (*ὑπερήφανοι*, Ps 118:78 LXX), and who hate Zion (128:5).⁷⁶⁹

The grammatical and semantic function of the verb *αἰσχύνομαι* in both Ps 118(119):46 and Rom 1:16 differs from the above-mentioned cases. In Ps 118(119):46, the psalmist asserts that he “has spoken/proclaimed your (i.e., God's) testimonies in front of kings” and was “not ashamed (*οὐκ ἡσχυνόμην*),” though the verb can be interpreted as “to be put to shame.” However, Paul probably read the verb as meaning “to be ashamed” in this context, as he asserts that he is not ashamed of the gospel (*οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*). Even if the lexical equivalence is not perfect (*αἰσχύνομαι* in the psalm, *ἐπαισχύνομαι* in Paul), the sense is similar in both instances. The reference becomes clearer when compared to the use of *αἰσχύνομαι* elsewhere in the Septuagint as well as in Classical Greek, where the verb mostly occurs with a moral sense: in the active voice (*αἰσχύνω*) “to dishonor,” and in the

since the semantic function of the verb “to be ashamed” is similar, differing from the usual semantic function of the verb in Koine and classical Greek outside LXX.

⁷⁶⁸ The verb translates the Hebrew verb *שָׁבַח*, “to be put to shame; to fail in hope and expectation; to be troubled, disturbed, confused; referring to something which disappoints the hopes of people set upon it” (Botha 1999, 391). The word in Hebrew does not bear the connotation of feeling shame as its Greek equivalent *αἰσχύνομαι* does. Notably, however, a prefixed verb derived from *αἰσχύνομαι* does occur in vv. 31 (*ἐκολλήθην τοῖς μαρτυρίοις σου κύριε μὴ με καταισχύνῃς*, Ps 118(119):31 LXX), and 116 (*ἀντιλαβοῦ μου κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου καὶ ζήσομαι καὶ μὴ καταισχύνῃς με ἀπὸ τῆς προσδοκίας μου* (Ps 118(119):116 LXX). The use of the verb is comparable in vv. 31 and 116 as well as in the case of v. 46, whereas in v. 78 the verb carries an imprecatory function: *αἰσχυθήτωσαν ὑπερήφανοι ὅτι ἀδίκως ἠνόμησαν εἰς ἐμέ ἐγὼ δὲ ἀδολεσχήσω ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς σου* (Ps 118:78 LXX).

⁷⁶⁹ LXX Pss 6:11; 24:3; 30:18; 34:4, 26; 68:7; 69:3, 4; 70:13, 24; 82:18; 85:17; 96:7; 108:28; 118:46, 78, 80; 128:5. Paul uses the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* outside of this passage only once, in Rom 6:21. Cf. also 2 Tim 1:8 (*μὴ οὖν ἐπαισχυθήσῃς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν*), 12, 16. Elsewhere in the NT (Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26; Heb 2:11; 11:16), the verb occurs in the meaning as Paul uses it in Rom 1:16, where “not being ashamed” stands for “confessing.”

passive voice “to be dishonored, to be put ashamed, to feel shame.”⁷⁷⁰ Opposite to its semantic functions in classical Greek, the connotation of the verb *ἐπαισχύνομαι* in both the psalms and Paul should be taken as a negative equivalent to “confess, bear witness,” and thus, as “not confess” rather than in socio-psychological terms as “to be ashamed.”⁷⁷¹ In a recent study on Paul’s use of the language of lament, the verb has been interpreted in the socio-psychological sense of “to disappoint”—namely, “disappointment in the promise God gives.”⁷⁷² Nevertheless, I do not see this translation as faithful to Paul’s wording, since Paul adds the object (“gospel”) to the verb. Furthermore, even if the meaning of the verb is “to disappoint” in the psalm, it does not seem to carry this meaning in Rom 1:16.

⁷⁷⁰ E.g., *αἰσχύνω* (active) occurs mostly with a moral sense: “dishonor” (*Il.* 6.209); “dishonor a woman” (e.g., Aristotle’s *Politics* 1311(b)7). In passive form, “to be dishonored” (*Il.* 18.180), “to be ashamed, feel shame” (*Od.* 7.305, 18.12; Herodotus’s *Hist.* 1.10); in active form, “disdain” (Pindaros’s *Pythia* 3.22). Whereas, in classical literature, the venerated and respected authorities are put to shame due to the shameful acts of the subject, in LXX and in Paul, the subject asserts that he or she is not ashamed to proclaim what (whether the Law or the gospel) he or she estimates highly. For a detailed study on another Greek term for shame, *αἰδώς*, in classical Greek literature, see Cairns 1993.

⁷⁷¹ Similarly, e.g., Dunn 1988, 39; contra Jewett (2007, 136–137), who views the object of Paul’s shame to be the gospel itself and thus implicitly the cross (cf. 1 Cor 1:18, 23). Cf. the parallel use of the verb in Mark 8:38. On the notion of shame in Ps 119(MT), see Botha 1999. Botha (392) divides the notion of shame in Ps 119(MT) and prayers in general into two categories: 1) “prayers which are aimed at **avoiding** shame [...]”; and 2) prayers which focus on the **removal** of shame as something which has already been experienced” (emphasis his). The aspect of avoiding shame is used in vv. 5, 6, and 80. According to Botha (393–394), the majority of references to shame in Ps 119(MT) imply that the psalmist has already experienced shame (vv. 22, 31, 39, 42, 116). Furthermore, Botha (394) notes a third category of instances where the psalmist expresses his “intention of not being put off from his duty as a result of shame.” Verse 46 falls into this category. Botha then concludes that “[...] the concept of shame in Psalm 119 is nothing more nor less than one more way of professing a special relationship with Yahweh through Torah” (394).

⁷⁷² Crisler (2016, 47–48) argues for this interpretation, citing examples of psalm passages that use the parallel expression *ἐλπίζω-καταισχύνω*—namely, LXX Pss 21, 30, 70. Crisler’s interpretation is tenable with regard to the psalms to which he refers. However, the parallel expression *ἐλπίζω-καταισχύνω* does not occur in LXX Ps 118. The semantic meaning of the verb *αἰσχύνομαι* in Ps 118(119):6 comes close to its meaning in Paul’s passage: *τότε οὐ μὴ ἐπαισχυνθῶ ἐν τῷ με ἐπιβλέπειν ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς σου*, “Then I shall not be put to shame, having my eyes fixed on all your commandments” (NRSV). Nevertheless, the grammatical form differs between the two verses (6 and 46) in Ps 118(119): in v. 6, the verb is a subjunctive, whereas in v. 46 it is in the indicative mood. As the translator of the psalms renders the verb with an imperfect in v. 46, it denotes frequent action: “I have been speaking of your testimonies before kings, and I have not been put to ashame.”

Ps 118(119), as a whole, is a hymn to the law and to God's commandments or Torah piety. The psalmist (in first person singular) addresses his speech to God (in second person singular) and affirms that he has followed the commandments of God and will do so in the future (e.g., vv. 4, 8, 9, 15, 17). The Torah of Yahweh is said to be the psalmist's joy and delight (vv. 14, 16, 24, 47, 70, 77, 92, 143, 162, 174), light (v. 105), wealth (vv. 72, 162), and life itself (vv. 25, 50): "torat yhwh is everything to the psalmist."⁷⁷³

Ps 118(119) is also one of the alphabetical psalms, of which it is the longest. The Hebrew alphabet is repeated in eight-line stanzas and has been claimed to carry mnemonic purposes in its employment of didactic themes such as Torah piety. A synonym for Torah is repeated in almost every verse.⁷⁷⁴ Furthermore, as I have explored in the introduction to this study,⁷⁷⁵ memorization of long passages of lyrical or prose texts was common in both Greco-Roman and Jewish schools, so it is plausible that Paul was probably familiar with techniques for memorizing texts by heart.

⁷⁷³ Freedman (1999, 88–89) dates Psalm 119 (MT) to a time in "Israel's history when tora is truly a sacred text." See further Freedman (92): "Due to its single-minded focus on the torat-yhwh, Psalm 119 presents a paucity of clues concerning the date and purpose of its composition. [...] All these considerations suggest a time in Israel's history when tora has become, or is on way to becoming, the heart and soul of the Israelite community. [...] Plausible time period for this psalm is the rule of Ezra or Nehemiah, each of whom sought to make tora the ruling document for the restored Jerusalem." Notably, Freedman compares Ps 118(119) to Ps 18(19), to which Paul alludes in v. 20. Psalm 19 has 5 keywords—תּוֹרָה, מִצְוָה, מִשְׁפָּטִים, פְּקוּדִים, מַצְוָה (Ps 119 has 8)—"and it makes statements about tora that are practically identical to Psalm 119's" (90). Whereas Ps 119 celebrates the Torah and does not use creation as an analogy for the Torah, Ps 18(19) links the Torah with Yahweh's power and revelation in his creation with pre-Israelite solar imagery. Further, Freedman (91) claims that Ps 119 carries no explicit reference to creation, patriarchal promises, covenants (patriarchal, Mosaic, or Davidic), the Temple, the Davidic dynasty (past or future), or Yahweh's mighty acts of salvation in Israel's history, which are all important theological concepts found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Hossfeld and Zenger (2008, 351) note that the psalm is not affected by temple or cultic elements: "Psalm 119 ist zwar in keiner Weise tempeltheologisch oder kultisch imprägniert. Aber das sich im Achterrhythmus vollziehende Rezitieren des Psalms kann als poetische Substitution des Tempelkults verstanden werden: Wer diesen Psalm rezitiert, setzt sich jener chaosbekämpfenden und kosmoskonstituierenden Macht JHWHs aus, die 'sonst' vom bzw. im Tempel erwartet wird."

⁷⁷⁴ See also Freedman 1999, 87. Soll (1991, 6, 11 [cited in Freedman 1999, 88]) compares the psalm to non-Israelite acrostic psalms, concluding that "there exist some Mesopotamian parallels but nothing to match the eight alphabetic acrostic psalms of the Hebrew Bible. The acrostic syllables produce not an alphabet (impossible, since cuneiform is not alphabetic) but sentences, which reinforce the poem's content and/or identify the poem's author."

⁷⁷⁵ See pp. 14–16.

Nevertheless, there is not enough evidence to determine whether Paul knew the acrostic Hebrew version of Ps 119, though the acrostic format of the psalm would have undoubtedly aided memorization.

To sum up the discussion on Ps 118(119), when Paul asserts that he is not ashamed of the gospel, Paul is confessing the gospel. Both in the Greek translation of the psalm and in Rom 1:16, it is asserted that the speaker does not feel shame for proclaiming the very thing he has received from God, whether the law/commandments/words or the gospel. If Paul has Ps 118(119) in mind as a reference text in Rom 1:16, Paul departs from the original literary context of the verse. In the psalm, the object of confession is the law, whereas in Paul it is the gospel. He uses the discourse of the psalm but only at a lexical level. Hence, I classify the link to the psalm as bearing loose lexical correspondence without broader metaleptical evocations of the themes in the psalm. Paul never describes the law in the positive light in which it is cast in Psalm 118(119); on the contrary, Paul is quite critical of law.⁷⁷⁶ Nevertheless, he does not hesitate to use a psalm which affirms the status of law, recasting it for his own purposes.

7.1.2. Psalm 97(98) in Romans 1:17

I proceed now to verse 17, where Paul gives a proof-text from the book of Habakkuk⁷⁷⁷ with the quotation formula *καθὼς γέγραπται* (“as it is written”):

Hab LXX⁷⁷⁸ 2:4 *ἐὰν ὑποστείληται οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.*

Look at the proud! Their spirit is not right in them, but the righteous live by my faith. (NRSV, modified)

⁷⁷⁶ The only exception in Paul’s perspective on law occurs in Rom 7:12. For a detailed analysis of how Paul treats the law, see, e.g., Räisänen (1983) 1987.

⁷⁷⁷ For the many textual traditions of the Hebrew version of Hab, see, e.g. Kraus 2011, 153–158. The Greek textual evidence is diverse, and the Greek textual transmission of Hab has been influenced by Paul’s quotations from Hab 2:4. See Kraus 2011, 158–167.

⁷⁷⁸ The text is according to Rahlfs’s critical text; however, there are many variants not listed here. The Naḥal Hever scroll (8HevXIIgr, Rahlfs: 943), one of the few manuscripts in Greek found in the Judean Desert, attests an alternative reading: *δί]καιος ἐν πίστει αὐτοῦ ζήσεται*. This scroll is understood to represent corrections towards the Hebrew text in the style of the kaige tradition. The dating of the manuscript based on paleographic evidence is between the second half of the first century BCE (50 BCE) and the mid first century CE (50 CE; DJD 8, 22.)

Rom 1:17 δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, καθὼς γέγραπται· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.
For in it, the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, “The one who is righteous will live by faith.” (NRSV)

Paul narrows the quotation down by citing only the latter part of the verse. The pronoun μου after πίστις is lacking in Paul’s wording.⁷⁷⁹ Even if this deviation in the text is small, it is significant, since it strengthens the contrast between faith and works.⁷⁸⁰ The same passage from Habakkuk is quoted also in Gal 3:11.⁷⁸¹ However, whereas Paul sets the law as an antithesis for the gospel in Gal 3:10–11, stating that everyone who relies on works of the law is cursed (quoting from Deut 27:26), in Rom 1:16 he does not mention the law at all.⁷⁸² In addition, besides this explicit quotation,⁷⁸³ it is also possible to see a lexical link with Ps 97(98):2:

Rom 1:17 δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται [...]
For in it the righteousness of God is revealed [...]
(NRSV)

⁷⁷⁹ For a discussion of whether the pronoun μου was attested in Paul’s *Vorlage*, whether the omission results from a memory lapse or whether Paul deliberately omits the word, see, e.g., Kraus 2011, 169–170. More recently, Kujanpää 2019, 301–303, provides a survey of the different solutions based on the textual evidence, concluding (303) that the omission of μου in the Septuagint witnesses is a harmonization with Rom 1:17. Thus, the omission of the pronoun in 1:17 would be Paul’s deliberate choice.

⁷⁸⁰ For a thorough study of the semantic field of πίστις/*fide* in Greco-Roman culture compared to Paul, see Morgan 2015. For earlier studies on the semantics of the word in both the context of Hab and Paul, see, e.g., Dunn 1988, 41–44; Kraus 2011, 170. In recent decades, the scholarly consensus that πίστις Χριστοῦ should be interpreted as *genetivus objectivus*—i.e., “faith in Christ”—has been challenged mainly by Anglophone scholars—see, e.g., Hays 1983. Cf. also the discussion in Watson 2004, 151–163. Their view is that, instead of *genetivus objectivus*, the phrase should be understood as *genetivus subjectivus*: the faith(fullness) of Christ, or Christ’s faith. For a detailed survey of the debate, see Hunn (2009), who also discusses other options for interpreting the expression πίστις Χριστοῦ.

⁷⁸¹ Hab 2:4 is quoted also in Heb 10:38, where the word order differs from most textual witnesses of LXX. Only A, which was probably influenced by the NT, follows the wording of Hebrews. Similarly, see Kraus 2011, 169.

⁷⁸² The juxtaposition of the law and faith in Galatians is emphasized clearly earlier in Gal 3, where Paul poses the following rhetorical question: “Did you receive the Spirit by doing the works of the law or by believing what you heard?” (v. 2b, NRSV). Paul then censures the addressee, stating, “Are you so foolish? Having started with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?” (v. 3, NRSV).

⁷⁸³ Beside LXX Ps 97:2, Hübner (1997, 14) notes also LXX Pss 53:3; 67:4, 12, 13, 21, 29, 30, 97:3; 118:46; 139:8 as for reference to Rom 1:17.

Ps 97(98):2

ἐγνώρισεν κύριος τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ,
ἐναντίον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπεκάλυψεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ.
The Lord made known His deliverance; before the nations
he revealed his righteousness.
(NETS)

The connection between Paul and the psalm here is both lexical and thematic. Lexically, the verb ἀποκαλύπτω (“to reveal”) and the noun δικαιοσύνη (“righteousness”) are common to both texts. Notably, even though the two lexemes are rather common in LXX (ἀποκαλύπτω 111 times; δικαιοσύνη 350 times), Ps 97:2 is the only instance where δικαιοσύνη occurs as the object of ἀποκαλύπτω.⁷⁸⁴ Of the occurrences of ἀποκαλύπτω in LXX, the only prominent parallel to Paul’s use of the expression “the righteousness of God is revealed” can be found in Ps 97(98):2. There, the rare word-pair, ἀποκαλύπτω + δικαιοσύνη, is used.⁷⁸⁵

Thematically, Paul and Psalm 97(98) both hint at the universalistic qualities of righteousness. Psalm 97:3, which claims that “every part of the earth has seen the

⁷⁸⁴ A more common object of the verb ἀποκαλύπτω is, for instance, ἀσχημοσύνη, a euphemism for the genitals or nakedness (e.g., Exod 20:26; Lev 18:6–19; 20:11, 17–21; Ezek 16:36–37, 22:10; 23:10, 18, 29). The passive form of the verb is often combined with ὀφθαλμός, referring to the oracle’s “uncovered” eyes (cf. Num 24:4, 16) or, in a few instances, to the Lord himself who is said to reveal himself (1 Sam 3:21). In the psalms, the psalmist asks God to “open my eyes” (Ps 118:18, ἀποκάλυψον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου καὶ κατανοήσω τὰ θαυμάσιά σου ἐκ τοῦ νόμου σου). The verb is used also in the expression “to reveal something to (someone’s) ear,” meaning “to say” (Rut 4:4, ἀποκαλύψω τὸ οὖς σου λέγων). The same expression is used to denote divine communication, using the equivalent τὸ ὠτίον (ear), in 1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27 and to denote human communication in 1 Sam 20:2, 13; 22:8, 17. Sometimes the subject of the verb is unclear, but the exposure (ἀποκαλυφθῆναι) of badness (τὰς κακίας σου; Ezek 16:57) or impiety (τὰς ἀσεβείας ὑμῶν; Ezek 21:29) occurs in God’s direct speech. In Lam 2:14, the prophets are said not to have revealed “your iniquity” (οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν σου). Quite similarly, one’s (indecent) plans might be said to be “revealed” (ἀνὴρ δὶγλωσσος ἀποκαλύπτει βουλὰς ἐν συνεδρίῳ πιστὸς δὲ πνοῇ κρύπτει πράγματα; Prov 11:1; cf. also 1 Macc 7:31).

⁷⁸⁵ The closest parallel in which righteousness is used as the object of revealing (as in Rom 1:17) relates to (God’s) mystery (Dan 2:19, 22, 28, 30, 47) or to the word of the Lord (ῥῆμα κυρίου; 1 Sam 3:7). Thematic parallels in apocalyptic scenes can be found, e.g., in Ps 28:9 (φωνὴ κυρίου καταρτιζομένου ἐλάφους καὶ ἀποκαλύψει δρυμούς καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ πᾶς τις λέγει δόξαν); 2 Sam 22:16 (καὶ ὥφθησαν ἀφέσεις θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη θεμέλια τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν τῇ ἐπιτιμῇ κυρίου ἀπὸ πνοῆς πνεύματος θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ); Ezek 13:14 (καὶ κατασκάψω τὸν τοῖχον ὃν ἠλείψατε καὶ πεσεῖται καὶ θήσω αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται τὰ θεμέλια αὐτοῦ καὶ πεσεῖται καὶ συντελεσθήσεται μετ’ ἐλέγχων καὶ ἐπιγνώσεσθε διότι ἐγὼ κύριος); Dan(Th) 11:35 (καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συνιέντων ἀσθενήσουσιν τοῦ πυρῶσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι καὶ τοῦ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἕως καιροῦ πέρας ὅτι ἔτι εἰς καιρὸν).

salvation of our God” (εἶδον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν), suggests that salvation does not exclude gentiles. While this is not mentioned in Nestle-Aland, I argue that it supports the line of thought in Rom 1:17.⁷⁸⁶ Furthermore, it is significant that, in Ps 97(98), there is no mention of defeated enemies as in the previous psalm (Ps 96[97]:3, 10). Contrary to Psalms 95–96 (96–97), the image of a victorious Yahweh is not shaped by the threat of other nations in Psalm 97(98). Rather, universalistic salvation is connected with the notion that Yahweh is the Creator of all.

In addition, it is noteworthy that Ps 105(106), to which Paul refers later in the passage (verse 23), contains a particularistic assertion that is contrary to the universalistic view of Ps 97(98): the psalmist asks God to remember “his own nation” (μνησθητι ἡμῶν [...] τοῦ λαοῦ σου, v. 4) in particular, to see his chosen ones in his goodness (τοῦ ἰδεῖν ἐν τῇ χρηστότητι τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου, v. 5), and to gather together “us from the nations” (ἐπισυνάγαγε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν, v. 48). In contrast, in Ps 97(98) the nations, too, will be saved, a message that suits Paul well.

To conclude the investigation of verse 17, both lexical and thematic connections can be found between Paul and the psalm. Lexically, Paul’s expression **δικαιοσύνη** γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ **ἀποκαλύπτεται** is a close parallel to Ps 97(98):2, which reads ἐναντίον τῶν ἐθνῶν **ἀπεκάλυψεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην** αὐτοῦ. In LXX, this is the only instance where these two words are linked. Thematically, Paul’s message benefits from the universalistic theology of Ps 97(98), which further supports the intentionality of the link by Paul. It is possible, however, that Paul’s audience might not have identified such a subtle reference to the psalm. Even if the lexical connection of that link is based on only two words that occur rather frequently in the LXX, these two words are rarely used as they are in the psalm, with “righteousness” serving as the object of the verb “appear,” as I have shown above.

7.1.3. Psalm 72(73):6 in Romans 1:18

Rom 1:18 Ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ θεοῦ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν
 ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ
 κατεχόντων,

⁷⁸⁶ Likewise, Hübner (1997, 14–17) lists v. 3 in connection to Rom 1:16, but, due to the nature of his study, Hübner does not provide any comment on the intentionality of the textual link.

For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of those who by their wickedness suppress the truth.

(NRSV)

Ps 72(73):6

διὰ τοῦτο ἐκράτησεν αὐτοὺς ἡ ὑπερηφανία
περιεβάλοντο ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν

Therefore, pride seized them; they clothed themselves with their ungodliness and wickedness.

(NETS modified)

The link between Ps 72(73) and Rom 1:18 is based on lexical correspondence, as they both share the words *ἀδικία* (“injustice; wickedness”) and *ἀσέβεια* (“impiety, godlessness”). The word *ἀδικία* occurs 215 times in LXX and 25 times in the NT, and *ἀσέβεια* occurs 73 times in LXX and 6 times in NT (*ἀσεβέω* in 2 Pet 2:6 and Jude 15). Notably, even if the both words are rather common, the combination of *ἀδικία* and *ἀσέβεια* in the same verse is rare in LXX, occurring only 6 times. Furthermore, Ps 72(73):6 is the only instance where the two words are connected by *καί*, as they are in Rom 1:18. Hos 10:13 is the closest parallel but, in this case, the two words are not joined; instead, *καί* joins two main clauses: ἵνα τί παρεσιωπήσατε ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας αὐτῆς ἐτρυγήσατε ἐφάγετε καρπὸν ψευδῆ ὅτι ἤλπισας ἐν τοῖς ἄρμασίν σου ἐν πλήθει δυνάμεώς σου (Hos 10:13).⁷⁸⁷

There are a few other terms with which *ἀσέβεια* is paired in the LXX. In the Psalms, the parallel concept is twice *ἀνομία* (Ps 31[LXX]:5; 64[LXX]:4), a word Paul seems to avoid. The same pair occurs in Ezek 16:4, 58 as well, but a more frequent pairing of *ἀσέβεια* in Ezekiel is with *πορνεία* (Ezek 23:27, 29, 35). In Micah, the parallel is often *ἁμαρτία* (Mic 1:5, 13; 3:8; 6:7). Paul uses *ἀσέβεια* only thrice, with the literal meaning “without worship.” Besides Rom 1:18, the word occurs also in Rom 4:5 and 5:6, the latter case referring to the sinfulness of human beings: “When we were still weak, Christ died at the right time (*κατὰ καιρόν*) for the ungodly (*ἀσεβής*).”

⁷⁸⁷ The other occurrences in LXX—Deut 19:16 (not as a pair); Prov 11:5; Hos 10:13; Mic 7:18; Ezek 18:30; 21:29—are not lexical parallels to Paul.

The thematic context of Ps 72(73) offers Paul the lamentation language with which to describe “their” ungodliness and wickedness. The psalmist first (in vv. 3–5) describes his envy for the good fortune, wealth, and physical appearance of the wicked ones. Afterwards, in verse 6, he lists the negative consequences (διὰ τοῦτο / לְכִּי) of the pride of the wicked, which goes on until verse 12. This list resembles Paul’s vice catalogue in Rom 1:29–31.

7.1.4. Psalms 8:4 and 18(19):2 in Romans 1:20

Psalm 8:4

Rom 1:20 τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθαροῦται, ἥ τε αἰδῖος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους,
Ever since the creation of the world, his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made. So they are without excuse.
 (NRSV)

Ps 8:4 ὅτι ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔργα τῶν δακτύλων σου σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας ἃ σὺ ἐθεμελίωσας
 [...] because I will observe the heavens, works of your fingers—moon and stars—things [you alone] founded.
 (NETS)

The link between Psalms 8 and Romans 1:20 is thematic, the notion that the world is God’s creation (in Psalms) serving as evidence for Paul’s argument that God is manifested in his creation. While there is no lexical correspondence between Romans 1:20 and Psalms 8, the psalm describes the creation by God as the “works of your fingers,” and Paul likewise depicts the creation of the world as God’s work, though in ambiguous words. Admittedly, the theme of creation is common in Second Temple sources,⁷⁸⁸ so the connection between this psalm and Romans should be seen as only a slight link.

⁷⁸⁸ For an analysis of these sources, see Orpana 2016.

The syntax of the (Pauline) verse is also unclear. First, the finite verb *καθορᾶται* is inflected in the third person passive form. The clearest part of the clause is the purpose phrase (in *infinitivus cum accusativo* construction), which comes at the end of the verse: “in order that they be without apology” (εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους). What precedes this, however, is ambiguous. Lexically, there seems to be a paradox in the expressions τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ (“his invisible attributes”) and νοούμενα καθορᾶται (“are perceived rationally”)⁷⁸⁹—namely, that God’s *invisible* characteristics would be able to be (rationally) *perceived*. The phrase ἡ τε αἰδὶς αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης clarifies what these invisible characteristics are: “both his eternal power and deity.”⁷⁹⁰ Ambivalent is also the dative τοῖς ποιήμασιν,⁷⁹¹ which can be interpreted as a local dative after the singular third person passive of *καθορᾶται*—i.e., “is observed *in* the creation (and thus creatures)”—or instrumentally—i.e., “is observed through / by creation.” The lexeme *ποίημα* occurs only 29 times in LXX and is especially popular in Ecclesiastes. The word usually carries the meaning “that which has been done,” “what is made,” “deed,” and (in reference to God’s deeds) “creation.” Thus, one plausible interpretation is to read the dative as instrumental—i.e., “[...] are perceived intellectually in the things which have been made [...]”⁷⁹²

Using Hays’s criterion of availability and recurrence⁷⁹³ as a cumulative confirmation that Paul might have referred to Psalm 8 in Romans 1:20, it is noteworthy that Paul quotes explicitly verse 7b of Psalm 8 also in 1 Corinthians 15:27.⁷⁹⁴ It is intriguing that, in the Corinthian context, Paul is dealing with eschatology, whereas in Romans 1, if Paul indeed hinted at the psalm, he was focusing on creation. According

⁷⁸⁹ Translated following Dunn 1988, 52.

⁷⁹⁰ Translations according to Dunn 1988, 57.

⁷⁹¹ Cf. the use in Ps 91:5(92:4), which can be seen as parallel to Paul’s use of the word in Rom 1:20. This could be a more appropriate parallel than Ps 8, where the lexeme *ἔργα*, which has negative connotations in Paul, occurs.

⁷⁹² Hence, e.g., Dunn 1988, 57; Jewett 2007, 148 (“For his invisible attributes are seen, becoming discerned from the creation of the world in the things made, namely his eternal power and divinity, so that they are without excuse”).

⁷⁹³ Hays 1989, 29–32.

⁷⁹⁴ See sec. 5.2 of this study.

to Jewett, Paul fuses the “biblical doctrines” (sic) of revelation and creation “with the Greco-Roman doctrine of divinity visible in the natural world.”⁷⁹⁵

The creation theology that is contrasted with the condition of the human being—as it is presented in Rom 1:20, emphasizes the superiority of God. This conception serves Paul’s argument—that the human being has no reason to praise him or herself. Paul claims that God is manifested in his creation, so human beings should be able to know him. Psalms 8 then would support Paul’s assertion that all humans should be capable of contemplating God’s existence in his creation, which is why their excuses are rejected (εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους, v. 20c).⁷⁹⁶ Furthermore, previous research has not come to a consensus as to whether Paul accuses the addressee of ignorance or of apostasy. In the latter case, if the target of the accusation is a gentile audience, the accusation would be rather clumsy.

Similar to the case of Ps 8 is the connection between Rom 1:20 and Ps 18(19):2, as it is also based on thematic considerations, but there is one further lexical link between the psalm’s wording and that of Paul: both employ the lexeme ποίημα (Rom) / ποίησις (Ps) in the context of creation:

Psalm 18(19)

| | |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Rom 1:20 | τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἢ τε αἰδῖος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους, [...] |
| | Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through <u>his works</u> . So they are without excuse; (NRSV, modified) |
| Ps 18(19):2 | οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγούνται δόξαν <u>θεοῦ ποίησιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ</u> ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα |
| | The heavens are telling of divine glory, and the firmament proclaims his <u>handiwork</u> . (NETS) |

⁷⁹⁵ Jewett 2007, 154–155. Jewett goes on to comment on the discrepancy between Roman-Catholic and Protestant views on natural revelation.

⁷⁹⁶ Psalm 8:4 seems to have a parallel also in Philo (*Abr.*; *Spec.*), where the observer of the works of God falsely concludes that these objects (the sun, the moon, etc.) are gods, which Philo then tries to refute. See, *Spec.* 1.330–345; *Abr.* 66–80. Other parallels between Philo and Rom 1 concerning natural theology are mentioned in Bell 1998, 70ff. For theological arguments, see, e.g.,: *Leg.* 3.97–103; *Praem.* 41–42; for cosmological arguments: *Fug.* 12; *Post.* 28; *Mut.* 54; *QG* 2.34; *Decal.* 52–53; *Her.* 114–116. Cf. also *Wis* 13:1–9 (Linebaugh 2013, 97–98).

In Ps 18(19), “the heavens are telling of divine glory, and the firmament proclaims his handiwork” (NETS). The word *ποίησις* is rather rare in LXX, occurring only 11 times, once in the Psalms.⁷⁹⁷ In addition, there is a possible link to Ps 142(143):5c, where the similar theme of creation occurs: “on works of your hands I would meditate” (NETS; ἐν ποιήμασιν τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐμελέτῳ, LXX Ps 142:5c). In this case, the link is both lexical and thematic as both the psalm and Paul use the word *ποίημα*.⁷⁹⁸

Hays’s criteria of availability and recurrence can be applied in this case as well, since Paul quotes Ps 18(19):5 in Rom 10:18 as well as Ps 142(143):3 implicitly in Rom 3:20 and Gal 2:16. In the context of Rom 10, Paul emphasizes that the Gospel had been announced to Israel, yet they did not come to believe. Similarly, in Rom 1:20 Paul claims that the addressees have not perceived God’s works in his creation, since they have not confessed the gospel.

To sum up, Paul refers to creation theology to emphasize the difference between the Creator and his creation, implying that God has revealed himself in his own creation. The connection between creation theology and the subsequent negative description of “unnatural” (sexual) behavior (Rom 1:26–27) is often seen as a reference to Genesis 1–2 (the creation of the human being) and Genesis 3 (the subsequent fall of human beings).⁷⁹⁹ The link to creation is further claimed to express Paul’s view on vicious sexual behavior, which he bases on the order of creation: the human being is created as male and female, which is underlined in the use of the distinctive terms *ἄρσεν* and *θῆλυς* (vv. 26–27) rather than *ἀνήρ* and *γυνή*. This wording has been seen to refer to Gen 1:27 (LXX), where *ἄρσεν* and *θῆλυς* are indeed used.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁷ Ps 18:2; Exod 28:8; 32:35; 36:12; Lev 8:7; 2 Kings 16:10; Sir 16:26; 19:20; 51:19; Ezek 43:18; Dan 9:14.

⁷⁹⁸ I am indebted to prof. Anneli Aejmelaeus to making this notion of shared vocabulary and themes between Rom 1:20 and Ps 142(143):5 known to me in personal communication.

⁷⁹⁹ This aspect has raised the discussion concerning so-called natural theology and the concept of natural law as echoing through the passage. Boswell (1981, 110) is critical of such interpretations, which see a connection between natural law and the given passage: the concept “[...] was not fully developed until more than a millennium after Paul’s death [...]”. Bell (1998, 90ff) also deals with the topic of natural law at length.

⁸⁰⁰ See Holter 1993, 21–23, esp. p. 22, where he argues that Rom 1:26–27 rather refers to Gen 1:27–28 than, e.g., to Deut 4:16; cf. Hays 1986, 191, 200; Becker 1987, 36–59, p. 53: “Befragt, hätte Paulus wahrscheinlich von Gen 1,27f. her (vgl. Gal 3,28: ‘Mann und Frau’ = Gen. 1,27 LXX; 1 Thess 4,4f.; 1 Kor

Contrary to this link, I argue that it is more plausible to see creation theology as supporting Paul's line of thought by emphasizing the contrast between human beings and God as well as God's sovereignty, which become topical in chapters 9–11 of the letter.

7.1.5. *Psalms 93(94):11 and 75(76):6 in Rom 1:21*

Ps 93(94)

Rom 1:21 διότι γνόντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ἡὐχαρίστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία.
for though they knew God, they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking, and their senseless minds were darkened.
(NRSV)

Ps 93(94):11 κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμούς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι.
[...] The Lord knows the thoughts of human beings, that they are futile [...].
(NETS modified)

The connection between Paul's wording and that of the psalm is lexical since both texts employ the words *ματαιίω* (or a cognate thereof) "to make futile" and *διαλογισμός* "thought," the psalm using the noun *μάταιοι* and Paul the verb *ματαιίω*. Paul's use of *ματαιίω* and *διαλογισμός* can be seen as alluding to wisdom literature or poetry, to which category Ps 93(94):11 also fits.⁸⁰¹

Apart from Rom 1:21, Psalm 93(94) is also employed in 1 Cor 3:20, in which it is marked (in the previous verse 19) with the quotation formula *γέγραπται γάρ* [...]

7,2.10f.: strenge Einehe wie z.B. bei den Essenern) argumentiert." Against the view that Paul would have meant to emphasize sexual difference and procreation by referring to Gen 1, see also the discussion in Debel 2009, 633, n. 10.

⁸⁰¹ Thus also Kraus (1989, 240): v. 8 and onwards can be seen as giving a disputation speech, and "[...] into these verses elements of wisdom poetry enter." The psalm also gives some elements of a credo for Yahweh as Creator. This credo is constructed in disputational form: the absurd claims in v. 9 ("He who planted the ear, does he not hear? Or he who formed the eye, does he not perceive?") are overruled in v. 11 ("[t]he Lord knows the thoughts of humankind that they are vain," NETS). Seybold 1996, 373.

(v. 20) καὶ πάλιν (“it is written [...] and again”): κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι (1 Cor 3:20). The psalm quotation follows a quotation from Job 5:12, but both are connected by an explicit quotation formula. In 1 Cor 3:20, Paul substitutes the adjective σοφῶν for the noun ἀνθρώπων to prove the claim he presents in verse 19: ἡ γὰρ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστίν.⁸⁰² This statement is paralleled in Rom 1:22: φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν. Accordingly, 1 Cor 3:18–23 could be read as parallel to Rom 1:21–22, and it is plausible that Paul draws on the same source text in the latter case as well.⁸⁰³ It is also worth noting that Paul quotes another verse of Psalm 93(94) in Rom 11:2—in a passage where Paul argues that God has not abandoned his people. Paul does, however, modify the wording of Ps 93(94):14 [= 1 Sam 12:22], changing the future tense (ἀπόσεται) to an aorist (ἀπώσατο).⁸⁰⁴ This change is theologically motivated in that Paul emphasizes that God has not abandoned his people in the past (Ps 93(94):14 [= 1 Sam 12:22] ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώσατο κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ). Rom 10:11–21 is a dense unit of its own, containing a large number of explicit quotations from scripture.⁸⁰⁵ Paul blames Israel for not believing in what has already been proclaimed by scripture. In 11:1–2, he rejects the accusation that God would have abandoned his nation. Is Paul, then, in Rom 1, preparing for the topic he introduces explicitly in chapters 10–11, and is this claim justified by the fact that the same texts are referred to in both instances? I would say that the textual connection can be seen largely in Rom 1 and that the explicit quotations

⁸⁰² See sec. 5.4 of this study.

⁸⁰³ Here, I should modify Hays’s criteria (particularly his criterion of *recurrence*) for defining subtle references. Hays (1989, 29–32, esp. 30) suggests that explicit quotation within the same letter would give us certainty of the given allusion, but I am inclined to think that explicit quotation in any instance among Paul’s genuine letters may serve as proof of (intentional or unintentional) allusion.

⁸⁰⁴ For uses of verb tenses in the LXX Pss, see, e.g., Veijola 2008. Unfortunately, Veijola does not treat Ps 93(94):14 [= 1 Sam 12:22] in his article, though he does note (142) that almost every psalm contains an example of unspecific use of tenses, which has caused problems for both ancient and modern translators.

⁸⁰⁵ Paul quotes Isa 28:16 (where the verb κατασχύνομαι likewise occurs in connection to the act of believing, as in Rom 1:16); Joel 3:5; Isa 52:7/Nah 2:1; Isa 53:1; Ps 18:5; Deut 32:21; Isa 65:1, 2. For a detailed analysis of Paul’s use of quotations in Rom 10:11–21, see Kujanpää 2019, 166–208, as well as previous studies on the passage listed in Kujanpää 2019. Here, it is sufficient to note the connection between Rom 1 and 9–11. The thematic word ἀπωθέω, “to abandon” (in 11:1–2, 4 [1 Kings 19:18], hinting at idolatry) further supports the connection between Rom 1 and 9–11, esp. 10:11–12.

in Rom 10–11 refer back to their use in Rom 1. This is, of course, a matter of speculation, and therefore I do not argue that Paul expected his Roman audience to have recognized the link to Rom 10–11. However, the allusive link between Rom 1:21 and Ps 93(94) is visible both lexically (*ματαιόω* [or cognates thereof] and *διαλογισμός*) and thematically (wisdom themes).

Ps 75(76):6

Rom 1:21 shares vocabulary also with Ps 75(LXX):6, both of which attest the combination of *ἄσύνετος* (“foolish, senseless”) and *καρδία* (“heart”):

Rom 1:21c καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἄσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία.
and their foolish heart was darkened.
(NRSV, modified)

Ps 75(76):6 ἐταράχθησαν πάντες οἱ ἄσύνετοι τῇ καρδίᾳ
ὑπνωσαν ὕπνον αὐτῶν καὶ οὐχ εὗρον οὐδὲν πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες
τοῦ πλούτου ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν
All the foolish in heart were troubled; they slept their sleep
and found nothing—all the men of wealth, with their
hands.
(NETS, modified)

Whereas *καρδία* occurs frequently in LXX (more than 1000 times), *ἄσύνετος* occurs in only 13 instances.⁸⁰⁶ Curiously, it occurs only in poetic texts (Psalms and Odes) and Wisdom literature (Wisdom of Solomon, Job, and Sirach)—the occurrence in Deuteronomy (Deut 32:21) is in the Song of Moses. However, Ps 75(76):6 is the only case where the adjective is combined with *καρδία*.

Jewett notes that “[t]he influence of the LXX and of Hebraic anthropology is manifest in the clause ‘their senseless heart was darkened.’”⁸⁰⁷ He further claims that Paul builds his argument on the basis of “ethnocentric superiority,” attacking pagans

⁸⁰⁶ Deut 32:21; Ps 75(76):6; 91(92):7; Odes 2:21; Job 13:2; Wis 1:5; 11:15; Sir 15:7; 21:18; 22:13, 15; 27:12; 34:1.

⁸⁰⁷ Jewett 2007, 158.

who have deliberately darkened their hearts.⁸⁰⁸ According to Jewett, Paul’s use of both Jewish (*καρδία*) and Greek (*διαλογισμός*) anthropology might indicate that Paul was addressing and trying to appeal to both ethnic groups.⁸⁰⁹ Nevertheless, it must be noted that both of the terms also occur in a Jewish text-corpus—namely, in the Psalms: *διαλογισμός* in Ps 93(94):11⁸¹⁰ and *καρδία* in Ps 75(76):6.

The connection between the psalm and the Pauline text appears to be only lexical, as Paul does not use the theme of warfare, which is present in the the psalm. Besides the connection to Ps 75(76):6, however, the thematic and lexical connection to Wis 11:15 is apparent, and previous scholarship has examined this link thoroughly.⁸¹¹ Despite the fact that there is a stronger thematic link to Wis 11:15 in Romans and that the lexical link to the psalm is based on two words alone, the rareness of the two words occurring in combination makes it more plausible that the language of Ps 75(76) influenced Paul—at least unconsciously—instead of Wis.

7.1.6. Psalm Ps 105(106):20 in Rom 1:23

Compared to previous examples, the case in Rom 1:23 is clearer since here Paul uses the same vocabulary as is found in Ps 105(106):20:

Rom. 1:23:

καὶ ἔλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνης φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἑρπετῶν.

And they exchanged (ἔλλαξαν) the glory of the immortal God for likeness of a mortal human being or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles.

(NRSV, modified)

⁸⁰⁸ Jewett 2007, 159. This view of pagans is documented also in Old Testament pseudepigrapha (1 En 99.7–8) and in later rabbinic literature (see T. Levi 14.4).

⁸⁰⁹ Jewett 2007, 159.

⁸¹⁰ Altogether 25 times in LXX, however, much fewer than the more than 1000 occurrences of *καρδία*.

⁸¹¹ For an analysis of how Rom 1:18–32 might be interpreted with Wisdom of Solomon 13–14 and how the twist in Paul’s argumentation in Rom 2:1 requires a re-reading of Rom 1:18–32, cf. Linebaugh 2013, 93–96. For lexical similarities between Rom 1:18–2:5 and Wis, see Laato 1991, 118–119. The links in Paul’s language to Stoic philosophy have been studied by Engberg-Pedersen 2000; Huttunen 2009. See, e.g., the parallels in Epictetus, *Diss.* 1.6.19. Cf. also Jewett 2007, 155.

Ps 105(106):20

καὶ ἠλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιώματι μόσχου
ἔσθοντος χόρτον

And they exchanged their glory for a likeness of a bull
that eats grass.

(NETS)

In the literary context of Ps 105(106), what has been forfeited in the exchange is the living God (ἐπελάβοντο τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ σφάζοντος αὐτούς, [...] 105:21). In a relatively similar manner, in Rom 1, it is the glory (v. 23) or the truth (v. 25) of God that has been exchanged. As in Rom 1:23, where they—though Paul never identifies the antecedent—have exchanged the glory of God for the likeness of an image (ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκονος), in Ps 105(106), they (i.e., the nation) have exchanged their glory for the golden calf. Notably, Paul changes the pronominal suffix (a third personal plural: “*their* glory” in the psalm) redefining “imperishable glory” to specifically “God’s.”⁸¹²

The history of the Israelite nation is retold in verses 7–46 of the psalm.⁸¹³ Verse 6 recalls a confessional formula for sins: “we have sinned with our fathers, we have done wrong and acted wickedly” (ἡμάρτομεν μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἡγομήσαμεν

⁸¹² It is worth noting that one of the 18 Tiqqune sopherim, i.e., scribal emendations that correct the MT text in order to avoid, e.g., anthropomorphic or disrespectful phrases of God, likewise corrects the sg. 3rd or 1st suffix to pl. 3rd (כבודי) for theological reasons. The list of 18 Tiqqune sopherim is first attested in the tannaitic midrashim dated to the end of the fourth century CE. See Gärtner 2012, 186 n. 149: “Die Tiqqune sopherim schlagen hier aus Rücksicht auf die Herrlichkeit Jhwhs vor, statt ‘ihre Herrlichkeit’ (כבודי) seine Herrlichkeit (כבודו) zu lesen [...]”. Cf. Allen 2002, 71–72: in v. 20, MT כבודם, “their glory,” was viewed with uneasiness by early scribes, so it was traditionally listed as one of the Tiqqune sopherim, or “scribal corrections,” here supposedly for כבודו, “his glory,” or כבדי, “my glory.” McCarthy (1981, 97) elaborates on the logic of tiqqune sopherim further: “It is the interpretation of the ‘glory’ thus exchanged for something less noble that difficulties arise. For the fuller and more developed tiqqunim lists number all three instances as emended forms of an original ‘my glory,’ i.e., the glory of God. Left uncorrected, these phrases would have been disrespectful and offensive, according to the logic of the tiqqunim tradition, and hence the present MT third person plural suffix in Hos 4:7 and Ps 106:20 and the third person singular suffix in Jer 2:11 are seen as hiding, or at least softening, what would otherwise appear as blasphemous.” Rahlfs considers the plural form as preserving the original reading and the singular (αὐτοῦ) in R L’ A’ and 1219 as a secondary reading. Some Lucianic texts add τοῦ θεοῦ, which is, according to Rahlfs, influenced by Rom 1:23.

⁸¹³ For a detailed analysis of the substructure of Ps 106(105) behind the Pauline passage, see Lucas 2015; for the other seven sins outside the Land, namely the embitterment at the Red Sea, the craving for food in the desert, the angering of Moses and Aaron in the camp, grumbling, the worship of Baal Peor, and inciting Moses at the Water of Strife, see esp. pp. 56–70.

ἡδικήσαμεν).⁸¹⁴ The psalm begins with a description of the embitterment of the Israelites at the Red Sea and the Lord's salvation (vv. 7–12), and depicts the greed of the nation in the desert (vv. 13–15),⁸¹⁵ stressing how the nation had forgotten the acts of God. The rebellion of Datan and Abiram against Moses and Aaron is retold in verses 16–18, followed by the golden calf episode (vv. 19–26 allude to Exod 32⁸¹⁶) in verses 19–23. Paul recasts these theological elements of Psalm 105(106)—the rebellion of the nation against God and against worshipping him—for his own purposes, alluding to verse 20 of the psalm in particular.

The golden calf episode was not viewed uniformly in Second Temple literature. Nevertheless, during the tannaitic period, a more uniform attitude on the golden calf episode and its meaning had emerged, now interpreted as an illustration of the process from sin to atonement.⁸¹⁷ Some sources locate the worshipping of the golden calf—the quintessential act of idolatry—as the cause for the punishment of all future generations.⁸¹⁸

The question of whether Paul refers to Exodus 32 or Ps 105(106) can be answered based on lexical and contextual considerations. At the lexical level, the words used in the psalm correspond closely to Paul's phrasing, as both speak about "exchanging glory," whereas in Exodus the scene is expressed by a longer narrative. As for the context of the Exodus narrative and the depiction in the psalm, the role of the nation as a whole is emphasized in Ps 105(106), whereas Aaron occupies the central role in Exodus.⁸¹⁹ The vagueness of the expression in the psalm suits Paul's

⁸¹⁴ On the form and text history of the psalm, see, e.g., Seybold 1996. Many scholars see verses 1–5 (and 6) and 47–48 as later additions. The core of the psalm is the history of Israel, framed by confessional and prayer elements.

⁸¹⁵ This episode is alluded to in further detail in 1 Cor 10. See ch. 6 at the study at hand.

⁸¹⁶ καὶ ἐδέξατο [Aaron] ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπλασεν αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ γραφίδι καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ μόσχον χωνευτὸν καὶ εἶπεν οὗτοι οἱ θεοί σου Ἰσραὴλ οἵτινες ἀνεβίβασάν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ ἰδὼν Ααρων ὠκοδόμησεν θυσιαστήριον κατέναντι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκήρυξεν Ααρων λέγων ἑορτὴ τοῦ κυρίου αὐριον (Exod 32:5–4 LXX; cf. par. Deut 9:1–10:11).

⁸¹⁷ Cf. Lindqvist 2008.

⁸¹⁸ b. Sanh. 102a: "R. Isaac said: No retribution whatsoever comes upon the world which does not contain a slight fraction of the first calf." Cf. also Ex. R. 43.2; Eccl. R. 9.11.1. Other sources instead claim that punishment lasted until the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (cited in Bell 1998, 122).

⁸¹⁹ According to Hossfeld and Zenger (2008, 124), Ps 106(MT) has "unverkennbar [...] priestliche Prägung, die deutlich die Anliegen einer aaronidischen Priesterguppe vertritt. Diese Gründe zusammengemmon empfiehlt sich eine Datierung des Psalms in die Mitte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr." It is

aim to universalize the idolatrous act that the nation—and in the psalm, “they”—had committed: it is no longer just the transgression of Aaron or of the nation but of all of “them.” Just as ambiguously, in Romans 1, Paul describes “them,” whom “God has given over into the lusts of their hearts” (Rom 1:24).

Psalm 105(106) frames the transgressions of the nation in verse 6 with a phrase that recalls a confessional formula for sins: “we have sinned with our fathers, we have done wrong and acted wickedly” (ἡμάρτομεν μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἡνομήσαμεν ἡδίκησαμεν). The psalmist confesses the sins which had been committed by the forefathers, implying that the sin of the ancestors is always actualized.⁸²⁰ Similarly, it appears that for Paul time is non-linear, in the sense that the past transgressions of Israel’s ancestors are considered relevant to the Roman congregation, through his allusion to this psalm. But Paul’s impetus for referring to these texts is not because he is in despair but because he already possess the solution to Israel’s transgressions—namely, the gospel. Paul thus recasts the deuteronomistic elements (i.e., justifying God’s punishment, manifested in contemporary problems, with former transgressions) of Psalm 105(106) for his own purposes.

7.1.7. Psalm 80(81):13 in Romans 1:24

Besides the psalm quotations or allusions suggested in the marginal notation of Nestle-Aland, or, to my knowledge, elsewhere in research, I would additionally point out Ps 80(81):13 as sharing vocabulary and themes with Rom 1:24

Rom 1:24

Διὸ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Therefore God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts to impurity, to the degrading of their bodies among themselves. (NRSV)

intriguing that, as Lindqvist explains (2008, 117ff, 321–322), there seems to be a tendency in the late Second Temple and early Jewish sources to vindicate Aaron’s reputation by omitting him from the description of the golden calf episode.

⁸²⁰ See, e.g., Gärtner 2012, 197: “Es geht somit nicht nur um die Schuld der gegenwärtigen Generation, sondern um *eine generationenübergreifende Schuld*, die sich, wie der Rückblick durch die Geschichte in den folgenden Versen zeigt, von Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart des Gottesvolkes erstreckt” (emphasis hers). Cf. also Klein 2017, 326–331.

Ps 80(81):13

καί ἐξαπέστειλα αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν, πορεύσονται ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτῶν.

And I sent them away in accordance with the practices of their hearts; they shall walk in their practices.

(NETS)

The only exact lexical link between the psalm and Paul's wording is *καρδία* + *αὐτῶν*. The Greek word *καρδία* "heart," which occurs over 1000 times in LXX. Based on this lexical evidence, the link is not strong, but it is strengthened by the thematic similarities between the psalm verse and Paul's wording. The subject of the verb in both cases is God, who either sent away (in Ps 80[81]:13; in first person singular) or gives up (*παραδίδωμι* in Rom 1:24; in third person singular) the wicked ones. Furthermore, the word *ἐπιτήδευμα* "practice," which occurs in the psalm, comes in this context close to the word *ἐπιθυμία* "lust" in Paul. The former, *ἐπιτήδευμα*, refers to that which one usually engages with in devotion. The noun is more commonly used in the LXX than the verb (*ἐπιτηδεύω*), which usually refers to religious—but also idolatrous—devotion.⁸²¹ In this respect, it finds parallels in the verb *ἐπιθυμέω* and the noun *ἐπιθυμία*, as in Ps 105(106):14, which is alluded to in 1 Cor 10:6 as an example of the idolatrous behavior of Israel's ancestors (in v. 7: *μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν*).⁸²² In sum, the expression in the psalm of "the practices of their hearts" can be seen as parallel to "the lusts of their hearts" in Rom 1:24. However, the connection is merely thematic rather than lexical, as the theme that God may abandon his people due to "the lust of their hearts" (Paul) or "the practices of their hearts" (Ps) is shared by the both texts.

⁸²¹ See, e.g., Mal 2:11.

⁸²² See chapter 6 of the present study.

7.2. Conclusions on Allusions to the Psalms in Romans 1

The passage analyzed in this chapter contains textual links that are subtle, and hence need to be identified before any conclusions can be drawn about why they are used. Methodologically, I have classified each potential allusion according to the nature of its allusive link, which can be lexical, thematic, or a combination of the two. I have used the following set of descriptions: 1) lexical and thematic correspondence (with or without so-called metaleptical evocations), 2) lexical correspondence only, 3) thematic correspondence between texts with loose or no lexical correspondence, and 4) only loose thematic correspondence. The last category, which is rather weak in itself, is made stronger by the rarity of the shared theme among scriptural texts and in the passages under scrutiny. In addition, the recurrence of the same possible allusive link makes it more plausible.

Connections between Paul and the psalms fit the first category on three occasions (Rom 1:17 [LXX Ps 97]; Rom 1:21 [LXX Ps 93]; Rom 1:23 [LXX Ps 105]). Furthermore, the allusion to Ps 105(106):20 in Rom 1:23 carries so-called metaleptical evocations—i.e., even the broader context of the text referred to would fit Paul’s argumentation. In other words, Paul invokes the original literary context of the psalm: the Israelites have abandoned God by worshipping the golden calf. The ambiguous language of the psalm referring to the ancestors as “they,” suits Paul as well, as this ambiguity generalizes the sin of the ancestors so that it applies to all.

Identified as carrying thematic and lexical correspondence, Paul’s use of the expression “the righteousness of God is revealed” in Rom 1:17 uses the language of Psalm 97(98):2: “before the nations he revealed his righteousness” (NETS), which can be seen as carrying a metaleptical connotation. In addition, Paul appears to refer metaleptically to the universalistic theme of the psalm: “all the ends of the world saw the deliverance of our God” (v. 5, NETS). The word “to reveal” (ἀποκαλύπτω) followed by the object “righteousness” (δικαιοσύνη) surprisingly occurs in no other instance in LXX than in Ps 97(98):2.

Second, in other cases in Paul’s letters, and twice in the passage at hand, Paul departs from the original literary context of the alluded text. I have classified such cases as bearing lexical correspondence only. First, in Rom 1:16, one can observe lexical connections to Ps 118(119) without any broader thematic elements, though

Paul may have interpreted the verb *αἰσχύνομαι* “to be ashamed, to be put to shame” in the psalm as bearing the same connotation as his own use (with the prefix *ἐπαισχύνομαι*): “I am not ashamed.” Furthermore, since Paul attaches an object (“gospel”) to the verb, he departs from its intransitive use (“to be put shame”) in the psalm. Second, in Rom 1:21, Paul uses similar vocabulary (*ἀσύνητος καρδία*) to Ps 75(76):6 without referring to the theme of warfare that is central to the psalm.

Third, there are textual links that only vaguely have common vocabulary with Paul’s wording but that can still be identified at the level of thematic correspondence. These cases are Rom 1:18 (Ps 72[73]), Rom 1:20 (Pss 18[19], 142[143]), and Rom 1:24 (Ps 80[81]). The first case, Rom 1:18, can be reliably indentified as an allusion to Ps 72(73):6 since Paul’s text shares the words *ἀδικία* and *ἀσέβεια* with the psalm. These two words occur as a pair only here in the LXX. Furthermore, Paul uses the lamentation language of the psalm. The second case (Rom 1:20), however, relies on a lexically looser (*ποίημα* in Paul / *ποίησις* in Ps) link to the psalm text (Ps 18[19]:2), but Paul does make use of the psalms’ themes of creation theology. A stronger lexical link between Paul’s wording and the psalm text is offered by Ps 142(143):5, as both share the lexeme *ποίημα* to refer to God’s creation work. The last case (Rom 1:24) likewise provides a loose lexical connection to the psalm text, both texts using the expression (Paul: *ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις* / Ps: *κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα*) *τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν* (“[in their lusts of / according to the practices of] their hearts”). However, the thematical connection is stronger as both texts share the emphasis that God will not abandon human beings.

Lastly, one of the links that was dealt with in this chapter is identified as carrying thematic correspondence only: in Rom 1:20, one can identify thematic correspondence with Ps 8:4 based on the similar emphasis on God as creator. This category of textual link only suggests a reference to the psalms, but only one such reference in this passage—and in this entire study—is identified as carrying loose thematic correspondence (Ps 8:4 in Rom 1:20).

From a thematic point of view, I have shown how Paul uses allusions as thematic links to invoke a polemic against idolatry as a point of reference to compel his recipients to agree with him that they—Jews and gentiles alike—are committing sin.

8 Conclusions

This study has examined how Paul uses psalms and how his practice reflects the uses and status of psalms in late Second Temple Judaism. The analysis covered a selection of explicitly and implicitly marked quotations, occurring in clusters, pairs, or individually, as well as in combination with other scriptural texts. In addition, I have analyzed clusters of subtle references to psalms. The study fills a deficiency in research on Paul's use of Jewish scriptures as there is no monograph length study on Paul's use of psalms that takes into account the changing function of psalms during the late Second Temple period.

In earlier Pauline scholarship, the focus has often been on the interpretation of Paul's exegesis: how Paul himself understood scriptures. To find an answer to this question, interpreters used a variety of approaches and viewpoints, such as close textual analysis and comparative analysis with Paul's contemporaries (e.g., Koch 1986; Stanley 1992; Böhm 2017), hermeneutically oriented approaches (e.g., Hays 1989; Scott 2014; Crisler 2016), or close textual analysis accompanied with rhetorical analysis (e.g., Kujanpää 2019). Although the question of how Paul interpreted scriptures is discussed in this study as well, my point of view in this study has been to investigate the status of psalms among particular interpretive communities based on their use in Paul's letters in exegetical, exhortative, and ethical discourses rather than asking what he meant by a psalm quotation or a subtle reference to a psalm.

This study has focused on clusters of explicit and subtle references to psalms in Paul's Letter to the Romans and his First Letter to the Corinthians. In addition, the study has covered quotations in which psalms are paired either together or with another scriptural text. These combinations of quotations have further been compared to individually occurring quotations from the psalms. By examining these different types of combinations of psalms, the study has explored why these psalms in particular were combined and what interpretive technique Paul exercised in doing so. The observations made through the textual analysis in this study show that Paul himself

combined the quotations together, rather than using a shared source behind the scriptural quotations of the New Testament writers or another pre-Pauline tradition that would have compiled the psalms that occur in clusters in Paul's letters. However, there is evidence recovered from the Judean Desert of different psalm collections and compositions that circulated in the late Second Temple period that were not arranged according to what would later come to represent the 150 Psalm MT Psalter or the 151 Psalm LXX Psalter. In addition, Paul's use of psalms, combined together in pairs and in larger clusters, shows that Paul did not form the combinations according to any specific psalm genres. Furthermore, through the analyses presented in this study, it can be observed that Paul does not take the theme of a psalm—such as a lamentation psalm—as a guiding principle for quoting from or referring to any given psalm. Rather, his reason for combining psalm texts is based on lexical and sometimes thematic criteria.

The study is divided into two main parts—Part I explored psalms in the late Second Temple period, and Part II explored Paul's use of psalms—the first of which dealt with the manuscript evidence of psalms as well as the use and status of psalms in the late Second Temple period. In chapter 1, the methodology and source material of the textual analysis were discussed with an assessment of seminal studies in previous research. In chapter 2, I compared the material manuscript evidence of psalms, discussing what kinds of collections of psalms are preserved and what can be determined about the use of psalms through these collections. I concluded that later Psalter compositions, including the sequence of psalms in such collections, cannot be taken as an interpretive key to Paul's exegesis. Based on previous research, I further argued that the composition of what would later become the book of Psalms (the 150 Psalm MT Psalter or the 151 Psalm LXX Psalter) was not the only available compilation during Paul's writing activity in the late Second Temple period. Especially in light of the psalm scrolls recovered from the Judean Desert, it is evident that psalms occurred in a variety of sequences and compilations. Hence, it is plausible that Paul also had access to different types of collections of psalms. Nevertheless, since Paul made modifications to the quoted base texts in order to make them comply with their new literary contexts and his argumentation, it is more plausible that Paul was responsible for combining the psalm clusters that he used.

Paul probably relied on some form of excerpts (perhaps his own notes) of scripture as well as on his memory. However, long verbatim quotations from different sources suggest that Paul may at least have checked the wording of his quotations against a written source, which can hardly have been an unwieldy scroll containing longer texts of scripture but rather a collection of excerpted texts. It is plausible that Paul would have had access to the written form of psalms when he visited different Jewish communities where scriptural scrolls were most probably preserved. Nevertheless, Paul did not rely on earlier formatted clusters of quotations. Rather, he compiled and modified the quotations himself to fit their literary context.

Psalms as Authoritative Texts

What was the status of psalms within Jewish scriptures for Paul? I gave a brief overview (chapter 3) of the different uses of psalms, evaluating their status in each interpretive community. This examination demonstrated that the psalms were employed in various functions in the late Second Temple period. In addition to their use in private and communal devotional life, psalms were read, cited, and interpreted as carrying prophetic messages for contemporary readers. Moreover, psalms were used to study the history of the interpretive community.

However, it is noteworthy that certain texts—above all the Pentateuch—were considered authoritative earlier than most others—for instance the psalms and other texts now designated as the Writings. Nevertheless, while it is uncertain when the psalms gained authoritative status among Jewish communities, Paul’s use of psalms sheds light on the matter: Paul seems to consider the psalms to be authoritative since he quotes from them in a similar manner as he does from Pentateuchal and prophetic texts. Furthermore, Paul explicitly designates the authority of scripture by describing the gospel as having been delivered through the Prophets in “sacred scriptures” (γραφαί ἁγίαί; Rom 1:2), among which he appears to include the psalms. Paul’s use of psalms thus implicitly indicates their prestige among his contemporaries, as he uses the quotations from psalms to bolster his theological argumentation. In sum, Paul uses psalms as a source for teaching ethical life and for theological argumentation (Rom 1:16–24; 3:4, 10–18; 4:6–8; 1 Cor 3:20), describing the history of Israel’s ancestors

as a springboard for making exhortations (1 Cor 10:1–10) and proving the messianic nature of Christ (1 Cor 15:25, 27). Paul’s use of psalms also corresponds to the use of psalms in other late Second Temple sources, as other sources used them similarly not only for liturgical purposes but also as a source of prophecy, ethical teaching, and scriptural exegesis.

The reciprocal nature of textual authority is visible both in Paul’s use of psalms and the later reception of Paul’s letters: an individual may use a text that is thought to have a certain measure of authoritativeness in order to foster his or her own authority, and the text in turn receives more authority as it is used more often (e.g., as a source of ethical instructions). Paul’s attitude towards the psalms in this case appears to have increased their authoritative status among subsequent early Christian writers (cf. especially Hebrews).⁸²³ Hence, my dissertation suggests that Paul’s use of psalms may have influenced their reception in early Christianity and subsequent writers.

This study confirms the earlier notion that the tripartite division of the Hebrew Bible had not yet been established at the time of Paul’s writing. That Paul used psalms as a form of prophecy—for instance, in 1 Cor 15:25, 27 where a paired psalm quotation is used to prove that Christ was resurrected and that he conquered death—is an especially important observation as it has not been emphasized in earlier studies of Paul’s use of psalms. The use of psalms as prophecy is attested, for instance in the Qumran evidence (*pesharim*, Hodayot). Furthermore, the distinction between a text being interpreted and the interpretation itself can be seen as a development of textual authorization. In contrast, implicit exegesis—e.g., when the interpretation of a text is paraphrased—is an earlier phenomenon.

I briefly discussed (3.2.3) what can be known about the early Jewish liturgical settings of the late Second Temple period in Palestine and the diaspora. As this question comprises many controversial issues and since there are several studies specifically focusing on the matter, I did not explore the topic in depth but rather summarized the most relevant primary sources (archaeological remains, inscriptions, papyri, and literary depictions of devotional life) that shed light on the (possible) use of psalms in devotional life during that period. Literary evidence of the use of the Torah at the meetings of diaspora Jews survives, and, although prayer is more seldom

⁸²³ For a detailed study on the explicit quotations in Hebrews, see Steyn 2011.

mentioned than the Torah in connection with these meetings, there are a few examples in which it is said to take place at such gatherings. In addition, prayer, praise, and singing appear to be connected to the quotations from the psalms in Philo's writings. Furthermore, the use of the term *προσευχή* "[the place of] prayer" (or its cognates and similar terms)—attested in numerous papyri and inscriptions recovered from the diaspora—itself suggests that prayer played a central role in the public meetings of Jews. While this term does not explicitly indicate that psalms were used as prayers at these meetings, there are elements in the (LXX/MT) psalms themselves—as well as psalms and prayer texts from the Second Temple period—that refer to their use in liturgies.⁸²⁴

In earlier research on Paul's use of psalms, it has sometimes been presumed that Paul had become acquainted with the psalms in the context of synagogue liturgies. However, there is little evidence for liturgies during the late Second Temple period. Paul's use of psalms does not provide direct evidence for the social setting in which the psalms were read or recited, and neither do the texts by other authors from the same period. Rather, my analysis of Paul's uses of psalms provides evidence of the prestige that Paul ascribed to them and of their many functions and purposes: personal piety as well as studying, teaching, and interpreting divine messages. These latter aspects do provide at least indirect information about the possible social setting where and how the psalms would have been used.

Different Compositions of Psalm Quotations: Catenae, Pairs, and Individual Quotations

The second part of my study discussed what the use of psalms as different clusters says about the source of Paul's citations and exegesis of the psalms. This part constitutes the core of my analysis and is divided into four chapters. The first analysis chapter (ch. 4) examined Paul's use of explicit quotations from psalms linked together as a catena in Romans 3 where Paul aims to show his audience that all of humankind

⁸²⁴ See, e.g., 1QS X, 1–3; 1QH^a XX, 4–7 (12:4–7), 1QM XIV, 12–14, *Daily Prayers* (4Q503), *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504 and 4Q506); cf. the references to the Sabbath in LXX Pss 23:1; 47:1; 91:1; 92:1; 93:1; references to praise in, e.g., Ps 149:3.

has sinned and needs God's forgiveness. To prove this, Paul explicitly quotes five different psalms and Isaiah (and possibly also Ecclesiastes) in a catena.

In my analysis, I first compared the Pauline text of the quotations to the wording of available LXX Psalms manuscripts. By examining the differences between these two, I demonstrated that Paul modifies the wording of the quotation lexically and grammatically and truncates the quoted verses to better fit the new literary context. Strikingly, the psalm catena in Romans 3 with the Pauline modifications is found as an expansion in Ps 13:3 in most of the LXX witnesses. Previous research has occasionally suggested that this expansion in the manuscript evidence proves that the catena is a pre-Pauline formation. This claim, however, was refuted in the analysis chapter by comparing the wording of Paul's quotation catena with that of the LXX Psalms. I concluded that the differences fit Paul's new context notably well, which makes it unlikely that the different readings between LXX Ps 13:3 and its parallels (Pss 5:10; 10:7 [9:28]; 14[13]:1–3; 36[35]:2; 140[139]:4; Isa 59:7–8) would not be dependent on Paul's intended modifications. Thus, the most plausible explanation is that Paul compiled the catena himself, using different psalms and scriptural texts. This catena was copied later—perhaps first as a marginal reading—and a copyist subsequently inserted it mistakenly as an expansion in LXX Ps 13:3. This expansion is attested by most LXX witnesses, lacking only from Codex Alexandrinus (A) and a few minuscule manuscripts classified as Lucianic. The available manuscript evidence does not permit any conclusion on when the expansion appeared in the majority of LXX witnesses or why it is lacking from A. However, its omission from A might be a secondary correction through Origen's Hexapla towards the (proto-)Masoretic text.

In chapter 5, I explored how individually occurring quotations from psalms differed from quotation clusters or pairs of quotations and the sort of scriptural texts Paul combines when quoting from or referring to the psalms. I achieve this by analyzing a selection of paired and individually occurring quotations from psalms in Paul's letters. First, I investigated the texts Paul combines with psalms when quoting from them in pairings—either two psalms or one psalm with another LXX text—and how these quotation pairs function within the context of Paul's letter. In addition, I discussed the hypothesis of a pre-Pauline tradition behind the pairings of particular psalms. Second, I examined four individually occurring quotations from psalms by comparing their function to the paired quotations.

The first quotation pair studied was Pss 115(116) and 50(51) in Rom 3:4 where Paul uses both lamentation and penitential psalms to argue that sinfulness is the condition of humankind. Only Ps 50(51) is introduced with a quotation formula after an implicit quotation from LXX Ps 115:2 (MT 116:11). Notwithstanding, the psalms appear to be linked together in Paul's passage. As the division of the psalms in LXX and MT differ,⁸²⁵ and as Paul's implicit quotation from LXX Ps 115:2 (παῖς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης) provides only hints, it is difficult to determine whether he knew the psalm in its current MT or LXX form. Paul's use of Greek speaks for a preference for the LXX version, but, since the LXX versification of MT Ps 116 is secondary—as has been argued in psalms scholarship—it is possible that Paul was familiar with the Greek translation of the psalm in a composition similar to the current MT Ps 116. However, Paul frequently draws thematic connections between different psalms. In fact, such a link can be seen in Rom 3:10–18 where Paul combines five different psalms based on their lexical links.

The second part of ch. 5 dealt with two paired quotations from psalms as well—namely, Pss 8 and 109(110) in 1 Cor 15:25 and 27. In this passage Paul uses Christ's resurrection as an indication of the future resurrection of his followers. To bolster his argumentation, Paul uses royal (Ps 109[110]) and creation (Ps 8) psalms, both of which employ the similar vocabulary of submission (ὑποτάσσω). In quoting from Ps 109(110):1 in v. 25—framing the quotation with the explicatory particle γάρ and inserting the main clause before the quotation—Paul changes the text to emphasize that Christ will reign over death: “For he must reign *until he has put all his enemies under his feet*” (1 Cor 15:25). On the other hand, in quoting from the creation psalm (Ps 8:7) in v. 27—marked again with the explicatory particle γάρ as well as an interpretation formula “but when it says...” (ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ...) after the quotation—Paul argues that, even though Christ will defeat the ultimate enemy, God is not subject to anyone: “For *he has put all things in subjection under his feet* [...] (1 Cor 15:27a, NRSV).

In the third section of the chapter, I investigated how Paul combines psalm texts with Pentateuchal texts. He quotes from Ps 31(32):1 in Rom 4:8 after quoting from

⁸²⁵ Concerning these psalms, the versification between the MT and LXX is as follows: MT Ps 116:1–9 = LXX Ps 114; MT Ps 116:10–19 = LXX Ps 115.

Gen 15:6 in verse 3. In this passage, Paul explores the scriptural basis for the inclusion of gentiles into the covenant without circumcision. Paul uses the characters of Abraham and David as examples, stating first that if Abraham would have been justified by works, he could boast about it himself. Paul refutes this by quoting from Gen 15:6: “He [Abraham] believed the Lord; and the Lord reckoned it to him as righteousness” (Gen 15:6 NRSV). The figure of Abraham thus represents a justification without works. To give an even more drastic example of justification without works, Paul introduces David who is declared blessed in spite of his lawlessness (*ἀνομίαι*) and transgressions (*ἁμαρτίαι*), which are forgiven of him. Paul introduces this psalm quotation by framing the topic of the quotation explicitly: “So also David speaks of the blessedness of those to whom God reckons righteousness apart from works” (Rom 4:6 modified NRSV).

The last two analysis chapters (ch. 6–7) assessed the subtle references to psalms, which occur in dense clusters in the letters to the Romans and in 1 Corinthians. Next, I compare the rhetorical function and metaleptical aspect of these subtle references to the more explicit quotations.

The Rhetorical Function and Metaleptical Aspect of the Explicit and Implicit Quotations, Quotation Pairs, and Subtle References

As for the psalms Paul inserts into the catena in Romans 3, he deliberately frames out the original literary context of these psalms. Through lexical and contextual analyses of the quoted psalms (Pss 5:10; 10:7 [9:28]; 14[13]:1–3; 36[35]:2; 140[139]:4), I showed that, although the psalms portray a speaker who laments his or her plight of oppression by a wicked other—namely, the “lawless,” (Ps 5:6, 35:2) the “doer of lawlessness,” (Ps 5:6; 13:4; 35:13), the “enemy” (LXX Ps 5:6; 9:4, 7, 14, 26), the “sinner” (LXX Ps 9:17, 18, 24, 25, 36; 35:11; 35:11; 139:5, 9), the “evildoer” (LXX Ps 9:24), the “ungodly” (LXX Ps 9:23, 24), the “morally bad (person)” (LXX Ps 9:36; 139:2), the “foolish” (Ps 13:1), the “unjust person” and “slanderer” (LXX Ps 139:12)—Paul does not use the opposite of such accusations (the “righteous,” the “one who seeks God,” the “poor,” the “oppressed,” the “wise,” the “one who knows God” and simply “me”) as a designation for the recipients of his letter. On the contrary, he

reiterates some of these negative designations or negates the positive ones by including all humankind under the heading of sinners, stating that “there is no one righteous” (v. 10) and that “there is no one who seeks God” (v. 11). In doing so, Paul seeks to strengthen his argument that all humankind is in need of God’s justification (πάντες γὰρ ἡμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ; Rom 3:23). Thus, Paul creates an in-group identity among his recipients by using the lamentation language of these psalms. In sum, Paul shifts from a horizontal distinction between the psalmist and his “enemy” to a vertical distinction between lamenter and God, though he does frequently draw horizontal group distinctions elsewhere in his letters (cf., e.g., 1 Cor 5:1–13; 6:9; 2 Cor 12:2; Gal 5:19–21; Phil 3:2). It can even be concluded that the horizontal use of negative designations addressed to the lamenter him/herself resembles penitential language, though no explicit confession or petition occurs.

The passage in Rom 3:4 represents a different type of metaleptical aspect from that of the passage in Rom 3:10–18, as the former is one of the rare instances of quotations where the literary context of the quoted text does appear to play a role in Paul’s argumentation. Paul attempts to persuade his audience by quoting from the psalm to show that God is sovereign in his judgement—a theme that is prevalent especially in the composition of MT Ps 116 (cf., e.g., v. 5). The subsequent explicitly marked quotation (“so that you may be justified in your words and will be victorious when you go to court” Rom 3:4d–f) in the same verse from LXX Ps 50:6 demonstrates even more clearly that the original literary context of the psalm is crucial to Paul’s argument in the passage. The reference to “you” in the quoted verse would be ambiguous if the audience did not recognize that “you” refers to God (who is referred to in third person singular earlier in the verse), resulting in the absurd claim that God had been put to court. This absurdity would result in the argument that, even if God—as a sovereign agent—would have been blamed for not giving faith to the Jews who did not believe in Christ, God would be vindicated since “God is true, though every person is a liar” (v. 4c). In sum, Paul uses the quotations to prove that the gospel does not contradict God’s faithfulness to Jews. In addition, by using the example of Ps 50(51), which recounts David’s sins (adultery and murder), Paul invites his audience to reflect on David’s great sins which were not, after all, recorded as sin since David repented.

As for the rhetorical function of the implicit quotations from Pss 8 and 109(110) in 1 Cor 15:25 and 27, I explored (ch. 5.2) how the two psalms were used by the approximate contemporaries of Paul as well as the reception of these psalms in subsequent NT writers. It is curious that there is no evidence of Psalm 109(110) among the Dead Sea Scrolls psalms manuscripts. This might be explained by the combination of royal and priestly themes in the psalm, which might have been understood as a legitimization of Hasmonean rule and thus a threat to the Qumran community. As for Paul, the royal emphasis of the psalm suited him well, and he used the psalm to style Christ as a Davidic ruler. Later, Psalm 109(110) also became popular among the NT writers, and some scholars see this as an indication of a pre-Pauline early Christian messianic interpretation of the psalm. Nevertheless, no such explicit evidence is preserved, and, since the subsequent writers either use the psalm to argue issues that Paul does not deal with (e.g., the synoptics argue that Christ is not merely David's human descendant but is superior to David—which Paul does not emphasize), or they do not follow Paul's wording verbatim (e.g., in Eph 1:22), it is more plausible that they are dependant on Paul's use of the psalm.

The explicit quotation formula in Rom 4:6 that uses David's name is also of interest here. Paul uses this formula only twice in his letters (Rom 4:6; 11:9), using David's name 1) to amplify the authority that Paul seeks to gain for the statement through the quotation (as with any explicit quotation formula); 2) to signify the particular locus within the scripture, as David is depicted as a composer of psalms (cf. Ps 151:1; 11QPs^a XXIIIV); and 3) to foreground the theological meaning of David's name. In Rom 4, the naming of David appears to carry a theological function: David is depicted in Ps 31(32) as a pious person since he regrets his sin (cf. v. 5 which uses "I," but the Davidic superscript guides the interpretation). David functions as an example of penitence. The psalm juxtaposes the sins of David with the merciful God supporting Paul's argument that God will not reckon an individual's sins if he or she repents.

In the quotation pairs discussed in this study, Paul combines either two psalms or one psalm with another text of the LXX (Genesis, Job). In either instance, the psalm text follows the quotation from another LXX text. Some scholars have understood this to imply that Paul used the psalms as auxiliary or supportive texts. Additionally, some scholars have claimed that there are parallels to this practice among Qumran *pesharim*,

where one scriptural text functions as a base text under study and another—often a psalm—as a supportive text only to aid interpretation. However, as discussed (sec. 3.2.1) earlier, more recent studies on Qumran *pesharim* have shown that psalms also functioned as base texts and prophetic books as supportive texts (Høgenhaven 2017; Willgren Davage 2019).

As for individually occurring quotations from psalms, this study has shown that, similarly to Pentateuchal and prophetic texts, Paul used psalms solely to support or to prove his argument (Rom 8:36; 15:3; 1 Cor 10:26; 2 Cor 4:11). Hence, Paul must have considered the psalms to be of authoritative status, and his use of them subsequently strengthened their authority among the community reading Paul's letters.

In contrast to the previous chapters, chs. 6 and 7 discuss subtle psalm references in genuine Pauline letters. Since identifying references that are not explicitly marked is based on the interpreter's own judgement and is thus somewhat subjective, I have used the frequency of the occurrence of allusions and references within a passage as a criterion for identifying subtle references. Passages that are loaded with frequent allusions to psalms are Romans 1:17–24 and 1 Corinthians 10:1–10, the latter of which culminates in an explicit quotation from Ps 23(24):1 in 1 Cor 10:26 (ch. 5).

I have classified each subtle reference and allusion according to its degree of allusive link as follows: 1) lexical and thematic correspondence (with or without so-called metaleptical evocations), 2) lexical correspondence only, 3) thematic correspondence between the texts with loose or without lexical correspondence, and 4) only loose thematic correspondence. Regarding the last category, which may be difficult to identify and distinguish from other scriptural texts, I further analyzed whether the theme shared by the Pauline passage and the psalm text was rare among the scriptural text. Furthermore, if the same psalm text occurred in a more identifiable form elsewhere in Paul's letters, this confirmed the identification of the wording as a subtle reference.

Nearly all of the references in 1 Corinthians 10 belong to the first category: there are clear lexical and thematic links between Paul's wording and the psalms. Paul refers to the overall literary context of the historical psalms, and hence there are strong metaleptical evocations. Only one of the references in the passage comprises a loose thematic correspondence: the reference to Ps 77(78):31 in verse 5, where Paul refers to the destruction in the wilderness. As dealt with in the analysis chapter, regarding

this verse, there are stronger lexical connections to the narrative in Numbers. The link to the psalm text is loose, and the more plausible reference-text is Num 14:16. However, the other 8 cases fit the category of strong lexical and thematic correspondence.

Paul's exegesis in 1 Cor 10 provides an example of how the psalms can function as ethical instruction. In this passage, Paul uses Pss 77(78), 104(105), and 105(106) to instruct his recipients about the right way of living by actualizing the content of the wilderness narrative. In the context of the Corinthian correspondence, Paul exhorts his recipients not to become idolaters, not to fornicate, not to test the Lord, or to complain, using the transgressions of the ancestors as a cautionary example. The wilderness narrative, where the nation is blamed for not trusting God who has just delivered them from the slavery of Egypt and who will lead them to the promised land, provides Paul with a fitting analogue to the situation in Corinth: the congregation—mainly comprised of gentiles—is already delivered from the bondage of “slavery”—namely, from the pagan world. Paul's use of psalms as a source for ethical instruction is paralleled by other late Second Temple sources, where psalms serve as source texts for interpreting divine messages (e.g., 4Q171, 4Q173 and 4Q177). Notably, the Pentateuch became the only source for legal exegesis in rabbinic Judaism (Brooke 2011; Jassen 2014), but this tradition developed only later. Paul uses psalms with the Pentateuchal depiction of the wilderness tradition as a source for legal exegesis, as a way to explore the right way of living.

The passage analyzed in chapter 7 (Romans 1:16–24) was also discussed in terms of subtle links to the psalms. The variation between the four categories of subtle references outlined above is more diverse in this passage than in 1 Corinthians 10. Three of the references to psalms in this passage fit the first category, being lexically and thematically identifiable as references to psalms: Rom 1:17 refers to Ps 97(98), verse 21 refers to Ps 93(94), and verse 23 refers to Ps 105(106). The first two do not carry metaleptical evocations, though the themes of the psalms—the universalist theology of Ps 97(98) and the wisdom themes of 93(94)—are emphasized in their context in Romans. In contrast, the last one, the reference to Ps 105(106):20, which depicts the golden calf episode, appears to be invoked in Romans 1 more broadly, and, hence, the psalm is evoked metaleptically. In other words, the original literary context of the psalm plays a role in interpreting the reference.

Second, the references that carry strong lexical correspondence without thematic link are in Rom 1:16, which refers to Ps 118(119):46, and in Rom 1:21, which refers to Ps 75(76):6. In the first example Paul uses the vocabulary of the psalm to denote “shame,” as he proclaims “I am not ashamed of the gospel” (Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, v. 16). Curiously, Paul makes the intransitive verb *αἰσχύνομαι* “to be ashamed” of the psalm transitive and assigns “the gospel” as its object, thereby departing from the original literary context of the psalm. In the second example, Paul uses the wording found in Ps 75(76):6, (*ἀσύνετος καρδία*). However, he does not refer to the theme of warfare which is central to the psalm.

The third category of subtle references are links to the psalm texts that, in contrast to the previous examples, carry clear thematic correspondence between Paul’s argumentation and the themes presented in the psalms and can hence still be securely identified. These cases may or may not share vocabulary with Paul’s wording. There are three such cases, the first two being more securely identifiable as they use the same lexemes that are found in the psalms (Rom 1:18 [LXX Ps 72], 20 [LXX Pss 18 + 142], 24 [Ps 8]). Rom 1:18 and Ps 72(73):6 both use the words *ἀδικία* (“injustice, wickedness”) and *ἀσέβεια* (“impiety, godlessness”) as pairs, which is not attested to any other text of the LXX. On a thematic level, the psalms offer Paul the lamentation language of the wicked and the godless “other,” which is reflected later in the passage when Paul’s lament turns to a so-called vice catalogue (Rom 1:29–31). The second instance of subtle references, Rom 1:20, can be identified by the lexical and strong thematic correspondence between Pss 18(19):2 and 142(143):5: both use the theme of creation, by which Paul argues that God is proclaimed through his creation and hence “the wicked and ungodly” (cf. v. 18) are without excuse. Paul uses the word *ποίημα* to denote God’s creation work, a lexeme that can be found also in both psalms: *ποίημα* in Ps 142(143):5 and *ποίησις* in Ps 18(19):2.

The last category of subtle references are those identifiable based on thematic correspondence only. Since this category is open to interpretation, as such correspondence cannot be proven through lexical analysis, the thematic correspondence must be strong and unique for the given passages only. One such possible case is Rom 1:20, which shares the theme of God as creator with Ps 8:4.

However, since this theme is not unique among the LXX texts, the case cannot be taken as a certain allusion to Ps 8.

The two passages in Romans 1 and 1 Corinthians 10 are comparable in that Paul elaborates on the themes introduced by the references throughout the passage. I labelled these passages as comprising a cluster of allusions to psalms. The use of subtle references may indicate that the psalms were an integral part of Paul's colloquial language, and thus the wording of the psalms would have become part of his own argumentation.

The rhetorical function of Paul's use of scripture is evident when he introduces quotations by an explicit quotation formula ("as it is written," "when it [i.e., scripture] says," "David says" or similar),⁸²⁶ but how do the subtle references function within Paul's argumentation? Paul's language reflects many discourses: he possessed a Greco-Roman education and was well versed in Jewish scriptures. Especially the latter aspect becomes evident through analyzing the references to scripture that are not explicitly marked (cf. Ginzburg 1989). The language of the LXX seems to have affected Paul's writing lexically, syntactically, and theologically. In addition, the interpretive practices that were prevalent, or at least available, during the late Second Temple period and that are attested in other sources are recognizable in Paul's manner of connecting different texts or interpreting texts. Paul's interpretive practices were not influenced only by either the "Hellenistic" school or by early Jewish practices. Similarities to both groups of sources can be observed in how Paul handles scriptural citations, allusions, and themes. In this study, I have focused on a selection of passages from Paul's letters where this dependence on and relation to earlier traditions—particularly psalms—is the most frequent. In addition, I have sought to trace how psalms were used during Paul's time and how the different elements (lexical and thematic) of psalms came to be part of Paul's language.

In the introduction of this study, I suggested that, when Paul is interpreted according to modern literary theory, Russian formalism in particular, Paul does seem to bind his text to earlier tradition deliberately, especially in his use of the language of the LXX. Russian formalism differentiates literature from everyday writing (cf.

⁸²⁶ However, it is curious that Paul's use of the explicit quotation formulae differ from what later occur frequently when Matthew introduces quotations, namely, fulfillment formula (see, e.g., Matt 1:22–23; 2:15, 17–18, 23; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13: 35; 21: 4–5; 27:9–10).

documentary papyri) according to how thoroughly previous literary tradition is embedded into that text. Similarly, Paul is eager to make his quotations from scripture clear to his audience and hence, perhaps, to show that he belongs to the same literary tradition. However, Paul also departs from the literary tradition as he actualizes and reinterprets the passages he uses. This tendency can also be understood from the perspective of modernist literary criticism, according to which a talented writer should simultaneously demonstrate his or her dependency on and critical attitudes toward earlier tradition. Analyzing T. S. Eliot's seminal essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent" (1919), Viorica Patea, a scholar of literary theory, has made the following poignant observation:

While reconsidering concepts such as history, time, and literary tradition, Eliot questioned the nature of the creative process and of artistic renewal, and the relationship between novelty and tradition, change and permanence, and art and life or history.⁸²⁷

How Paul uses psalms as part of his language reflects the same struggle: an attempt to create new ideas (and to impress his audience with his talent) on the one hand and to actualize the tradition by attaching his teaching to it. However, Paul reads the psalms through the "theoretical framework" of his contemporaries and through the background of an educated Jew, selecting from them suitable ideas and phrases. Over the course of this study, I have tried to detect what leads Paul to read and use the psalms as he does. On the other hand, I have tried to be transparent regarding my own theoretical framework as a reader of Paul and the psalms.

⁸²⁷ Patea 2016.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Classification of Subtle References

| Shared vocabulary: Lexical and thematic correspondence with or without metaleptical evocations | Shared vocabulary: Lexical correspondence only: on the lexical level, the words bear the same lexical meaning without larger thematic correspondence | Shared themes: Thematic correspondence: on the level of the context of the referred text, the same theme is evoked with loose or without lexical correspondence | Only loose thematic correspondence |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| <i>1 Corinthians 10</i> | | | |
| 1 Cor 10:1 Ps 104(105):39; Ps 77(78):14 | | | |
| 1 Cor 10:2 Ps 77(78):14 | | | |
| 1 Cor 10:3 Ps 77(78):24 | | | |
| 1 Cor 10:4 Ps 77(78):15 // Ps 104(105):41 | | | |
| | | | 1 Cor 10:5 Ps 77(78):31 |
| 1 Cor 10:6 Ps 105(106):14 | | | |
| 1 Cor 10:8 Ps 105(106):39 | | | |
| 1 Cor 10:9 Ps 77(78):18 | | | |
| 1 Cor 10:10 Ps 105(106):25 | | | |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Romans 1 | | | |
| | Rom 1:16 Ps 118(119):46 Lexical: ἐπαισχύνομαι (Paul) + αἰσχύνομαι (Ps) | | |
| Rom 1:17 Ps 97(98):2 Lexical: ἀποκαλύπτω followed by the object “righteousness” (δικαιοσύνη); Thematic: universalist theology | | | |
| | | Rom 1:18 Ps 72(73):6 Lexical: ἀδικία and ἀσέβεια as a pair in both texts Thematic: lamentation language | |
| | | Rom 1:20 Ps 142(143):5 Lexical: ποίημα (Paul + Ps) Thematic: creation theology | |
| | | Rom 1:20 Ps 18(19):2 Lexical: ποίημα (Paul) + ποίησις (Ps) Thematic: creation theology | |
| | | | Rom 1:20 Ps 8:4 Thematic: creation theology |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| Rom 1:21b Ps 93(94):4 Lexical: ματαιώω (Paul) / μάταιοι (Ps) + διαλογισμός Thematic: wisdom theme | | | |
| | Rom 1:21c Ps 75(76):6 Lexical: ἀσύνετος καρδία (Paul + Ps) | | |
| Rom 1:23 Ps 105(106):20 Lexical: ἠλλάξαν(το) τὴν δόξαν (αὐτῶν) ἐν ὁμοιώματι (Paul + Ps) Thematic: Worship of golden calf and abandon of God | | | |
| | | Rom 1:24 Ps 80(81):13: Lexical: (Paul: ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις / Ps: κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα) τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν Thematic: God may abandon human being | |

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